

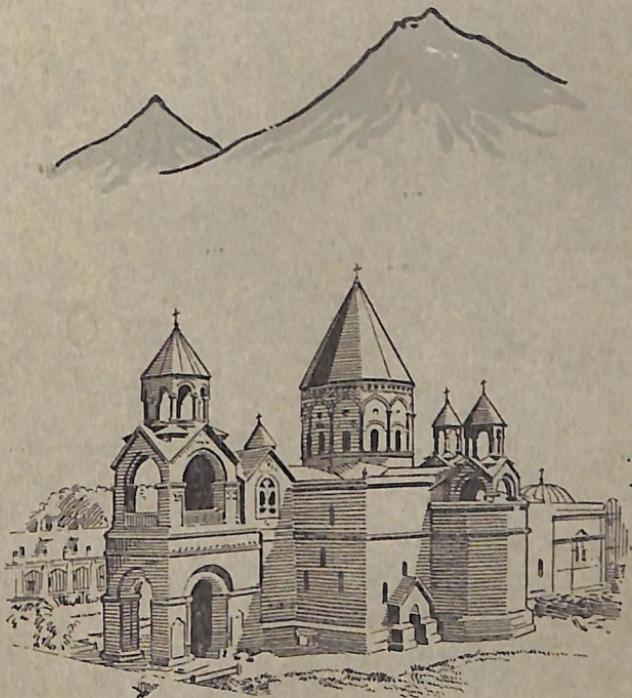
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A SEARCHLIGHT ON ARMENIA.

Vol. III. No. 29. London : NOV., 1915.

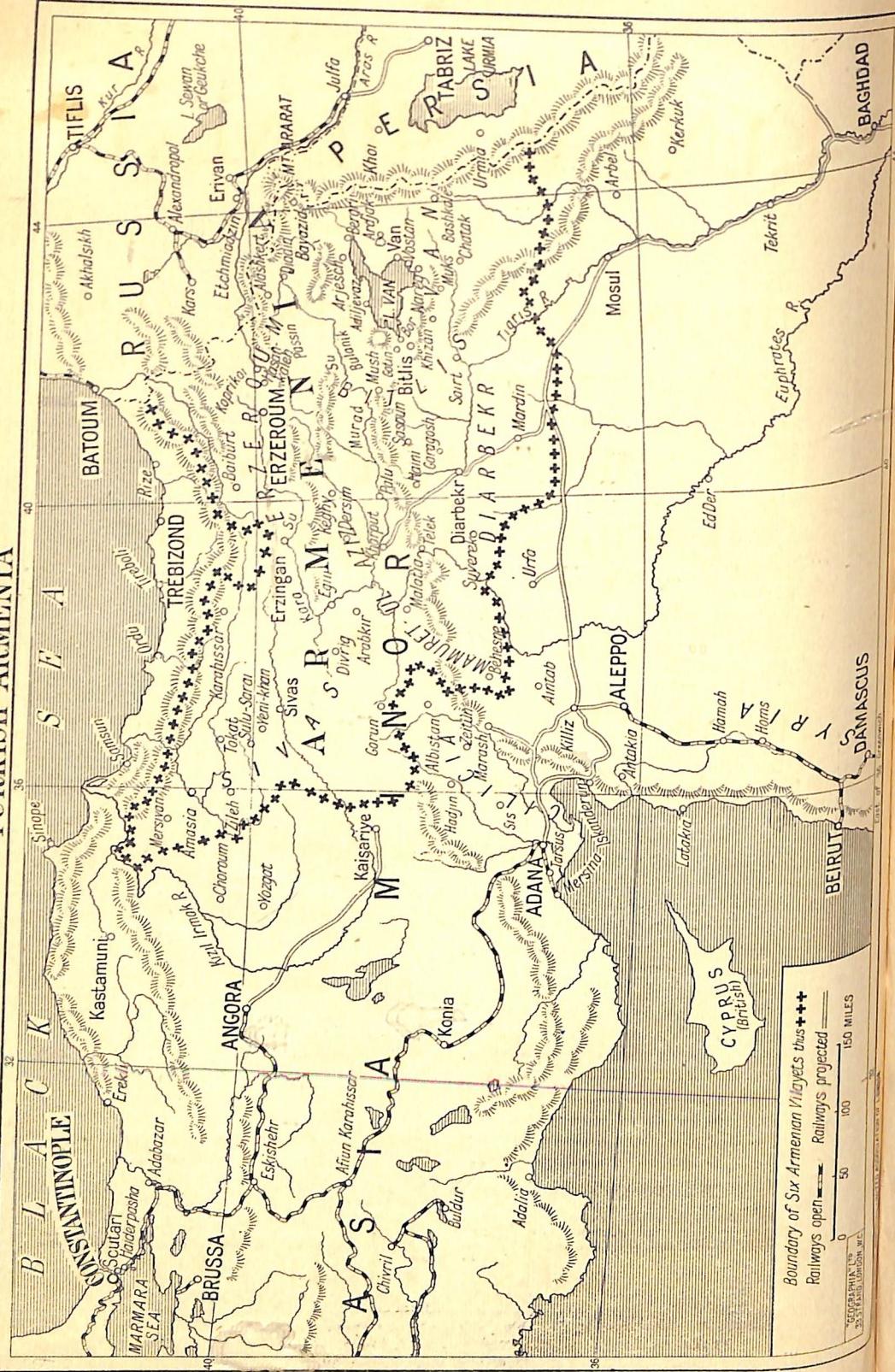
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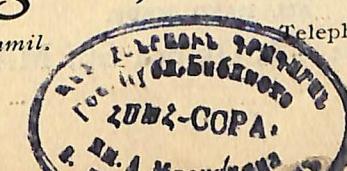
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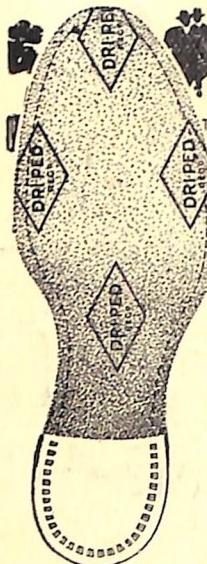
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Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's) Fund.

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Current Notes

November has seen little activity of a pronounced type either on the Eastern or the Western theatres of the war. Attention, however, has been mainly fixed on the Balkans, and there is no doubt that it will remain there for some time to come. The usual dilatory action of the British Government has allowed the Central Powers to steal a considerable march, with the result that Serbia, except for a small strip, has practically been ousted from her territory. The action of Greece is still an enigma, but the tour of Lord Kitchener has probably co-ordinated the coming movements of the Allies, and more decided action on their part may be expected before long. With the continued landing of heavy French and British forces in Salonica, with the prospect of an Italian advance from the direction of the Adriatic, and with the advance of a formidable force of Russians into Bulgaria, which is expected in the near future, the neutrality or otherwise of Greece and Roumania may be discounted, especially as Greece would be open to a maritime attack, should she show any signs of treachery. In the Mesopotamian theatre, the British force is within striking distance of Baghdad, their recent successful encounter with the Turks at Ctesiphon having cost them 2,000 casualties. Nothing of importance has occurred in the Gallipoli peninsula. On all sides the situation seems well in hand, and the dawn of better prospects for the Allies is in no way illusory.

Of conditions in Turkish Armenia we can say very little—it is all under an impenetrable shroud ; and no news can be expected at present of that sturdy remnant who are struggling for their lives among the mountain fastnesses. On the Caucasian frontier there has been some "liveliness" between the Russian and Turkish forces, a matter of outposts and patrols, which cannot be magnified into anything of a serious character. But the cup of horrors is more than overflowing, and Lord Bryce continues to keep the public informed of all the evidence that comes into his possession from sources which command the fullest confidence. Here are a few of the ghastly details of the tragedy. One writes from Mersine :—

The number of Armenians sent from this city now totals about 25,000, and this is in addition to the many thousands coming from the north that pass through. The misery, suffering, and hardships endured by these people are indescribable. Deaths are innumerable. Hundreds of children are constantly being abandoned by their parents, who cannot bear to see them suffer or who have not the strength to look after them. Many are left by the roadside. Petty cruelties by police and officials increase the sad plight of these people.

Another writes from Aleppo :—

Since August 1st, 20,000 have so far arrived in Aleppo. They all relate harrowing tales of hardships, abuse, robbery, and atrocities committed *en route*, and there were few if any adult men, girls over 10 years, or young married women among them. Travellers from the interior have related to the writer that the beaten paths are lined with the corpses of the victims. Between Oorfa and Arab-Pounar, a distance of about 25 miles, there were seen more than 500 unburied corpses along the highway.

Cautious and cool-headed persons, well informed on the question, place the total loss of life up to August 15 at over 500,000. The territory affected includes seven provinces, from which the Armenians have already been practically exterminated, leaving Aleppo and Adana to be completed, where, indeed, the same work is already in rapid progress.

The next testimony comes from a resident at Konia :—

At Eski Shehir there are from 12,000 to 15,000 exiles in the fields, evidently in great need and distress. The majority of them are without shelter, and what shelter they have consists of the flimsiest kind of tents, improvised out of a few sticks covered with rugs or carpets in a few instances, but often with only cotton cloth, absolutely no protection from the heavy autumn rains which will soon be coming. . . .

There is no provision made for feeding them. They seem to have little or nothing in the way of supplies. About 30 to 40 deaths were taking place daily.

The following are extracts from further narratives received from a correspondent at Tiflis :—

Towards the end of May, Djevdet Bey, the Military Governor, was expelled from Van. Djevdet Bey fled southwards and entered Sairt with some 8,000 soldiers, whom he called "Butcher" Battalions (Kassab Tabouri). He massacred most of the Christians of Sairt, of the details of which nothing is known. On the best authority, however, it is reported that he ordered his soldiers to burn in a public square the Armenian Bishop, Eghishe Vartabed, and the Chaldean Bishop, Addai Sher. . . .

On June 25 the Turks surrounded the town of Bitlis and cut its communications with the neighbouring Armenian villages; then most of the able-bodied men were taken away from their

women by domiciliary visits. During the following few days all men under arrest were shot outside the town and buried in deep trenches dug by the victims themselves. The young women and children were distributed among the rabble, and the remainder, the "useless" lot, were driven to the south and are believed to have been drowned in the Tigris. Any attempts at resistance, however brave, were easily quelled by regular troops. Such Armenians, after firing their last cartridges, either took poison by whole families, or killed themselves in their homes in order not to fall into the hands of the Turks. . . . In this fashion the Turks disposed of about 15,000 Armenians at Bitlis.

At Mush, early in July, the authorities demanded their arms from the Armenians and a large sum in ransom. Notables of the town and headmen of the villages were subjected to revolting tortures. . . . The female relatives of the victims who came to the rescue were outraged in public before the very eyes of their mutilated men. The shrieks and the death-cries of the victims filled the air ; yet they did not move the Turkish beast.

EVERY MAN KILLED FIGHTING.

In the town of Mush itself the Armenians, under the leadership of Gotoyan and others, entrenched themselves in the churches and stone-built houses, and fought for four days in self-defence. But the Turkish artillery, manned by German officers, made short work of all the Armenian positions. Everyone of the Armenians, leaders as well as men, was killed fighting ; and when a dead silence reigned over the ruins of churches and the rest the Moslem rabble made a descent upon the women and children and drove them out of the town into large camps which had already been prepared for the peasant women and children.

The shortest means employed for disposing of the women and children concentrated in the various camps was by burning. Fire was set to large wooden sheds in Alijan, Mograkom, Khaskogh, and other Armenian villages, and these absolutely helpless women and children were roasted to death. Many went mad and threw away their children ; some knelt down and prayed amid the flames which were burning their bodies ; others shrieked and cried for help, which came from nowhere ; and the executioners, who seem to have been unmoved by this unparalleled savagery, grasped infants by one leg and hurled them into the fire, calling out to the burning mothers, "Here are your lions." Turkish prisoners who apparently witnessed some of these scenes were horrified and maddened at remembering the sight. The stench of the burning human flesh, they say, permeated the air for many days to come.

MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN FIGHT.

In the hill country of Sasun the 1,500 surviving warriors found themselves surrounded at close quarters by 30,000 Turks and Kurds. Then followed one of those desperate and heroic struggles for life which have always been the pride of mountaineers. Men, women, and children fought with knives, scythes, stones, and anything else they could handle. They rolled blocks of stone down the steep slopes, killing many of the enemy. In a frightful hand-to-hand combat women were seen thrusting their knives into the throats of Turks. . . . When every warrior had fallen, several young women who were in danger of falling into the hands of the Turks threw themselves from the rocks, some of them with their infants in their arms.

The following two telegrams received by Lord Bryce give us the most recent direct news from the Caucasus :—

Tiflis, Nov. 3rd : According to Russian official statement, there are now 180,000 Armenian refugees in Transcaucasia. Some 70,000 have returned home to Van, Alashkerd and Persia. Owing to lack of accommodation, medical help and proper food, some 30,000 refugees have died since August. Thousands still sleeping out in frost. Exhaustion, exposure and terrible strain threaten to destroy the people. Details follow.

Etchmiadzin, Nov. 11th : Among 600 refugees camping here, on an average there are thirteen deaths daily. Six hundred refugees camping under tents at foot of Ararat. Fever hospitals there crowded full. In consequence frightful suffering. Owing to destitution, lack of food and accommodation, refugees have been returning home. Five hundred on their way to Van have just been massacred by Kurds.

We would draw the attention of our readers to a little book by Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee under the title of *Armenian Atrocities : The Murder of a Nation*, published by Hodder & Stoughton, which can be obtained at all bookstalls and through any bookseller for the nominal sum of one penny. It is based partly on information from the most trustworthy sources, and partly on the evidence of the American Committee. Mr. Toynbee has done a great service in compiling this narrative of the most horrible crime that has darkened the world, in words of such moderation as to carry conviction with them. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, in referring to the work in the House of Commons, said that it is "one of the most thrilling and most eloquent appeals that has ever been written." The work concludes with an



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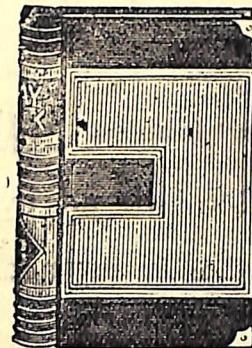
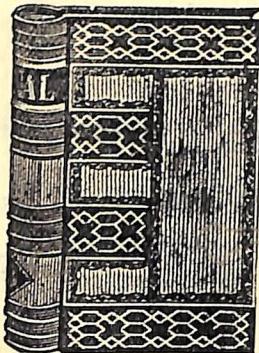
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indictment against Germany for having brought us all back in the twentieth century to the condition of the dark ages—and an appeal to her to cease to deserve this stigma. With that we will leave our readers to study the book for themselves. We are posting a copy to each of our oversea subscribers.

We are able to give this month an article from our valued contributor, Mr. A. S. Safrastian, who recently left London for the Caucasus, and will probably visit Van as well, his old home, and we hope to receive regular contributions from his pen. Besides his touching description of the care of orphans at Tiflis, there are telegrams and other items of news in the London papers which indicate the indubitable source whence they come—from that thoroughly trustworthy narrator of what is happening on the spot.

We are also fortunate in being able to give in these pages an account of the fate of the Syrian Christians in Persian Armenia, who have been fellow-sufferers there with the Armenians. This narrative is from the pen of an eye-witness, Mr. Paul Shimmon, who has recently arrived in London to advocate the cause of his countrymen. He is a graduate of the Columbia University of New York, and for the past fourteen years has been at Urmia in Persia, carrying on missionary work and business. He has been deputed by his Beatitude Mar Shimun, the head of the Syrian Church to bring aid to his countrymen from England and the United States. He is a member of the Syrian National Committee of Urmia, and before he left he was Commissioner in the Baranduz district, in the Urmia plain, for the restoration of plundered Christian property. Though the Commission was under the authority of the Russian Consul and the Persian Governor, the Persians placed all obstacles in the way of adjudication by the Commission, and the property of the Christians, as to the proof of which no doubt existed, could not be wrested from the Moslems who, in their numerical strength, had entered into possession.

There are a good many calls just now on the charitable for suffering humanity, and these calls are being cheerfully met by those who are possessed of this world's goods. The Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's) Fund started somewhat late in the day, but we have the satisfaction of knowing that at the end of six weeks it has collected over £14,000. Of this amount £10,000 has been remitted to Moscow and Tiflis to be dispensed for the benefit of the refugees through the committees working under the control of His Holiness the Catholicos ; while £1,050 has been sent to the British Consul at Tabriz for the relief of Syrian and Armenian refugees in Persian Armenia. The

other two Armenian Funds in London are also doing well—the Armenian Refugees Relief Fund, the bulk of whose contributions comes from Armenian overseas colonies, having collected over £10,000; while The Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund has reached its £4,000. Altogether, therefore, a sum exceeding £28,000 has been collected in London. A very great deal more is still needed to meet the gigantic calls which are indicated in our telegrams and information from the spot, so as to bring relief and comfort to the hapless people who have been flung precipitately into misery.

It is reported that on the signing of the Turco-Bulgarian Alliance, the Bulgarian authorities arrested all Christian subjects of Turkey who had fled into Bulgaria to escape Turkish military obligations, and turned them over to the Turkish authorities by whom they were subjected to severe punishments (these are left to the imagination of the reader). The Bulgarians have also arrested several thousands of Armenians who tried to pass into Russia. Here we see the workings of King Ferdinand and the Court party—for the Bulgarian people and Armenians have always been the best of friends.

Owing to pressure on our space we have again to drop out of this issue the report on the "At Home" of our Association of October 10th, in fact we must abandon its publication altogether, as it will have lost its interest through lapse of time. We had prepared an abstract of the interesting lecture delivered by Mr. W. Llew. Williams on *Serbia's Fight for Freedom : an Example to Armenia*, and also of the illuminating remarks that fell from Dr. T. M. Maguire in the discussion that followed; but both these gentlemen will appreciate the driving necessity that impels us to place our pages wholly at the service of Armenia's present pressing need.

There cannot be too many publications on Armenia scattered throughout the world, and in the language of the country in which they are published. Thus alone is it possible to overcome the ignorance that exists about our country and our people. We welcome, therefore, the appearance of two periodicals—"The New Armenia," a fortnightly published in New York, address, 949, Broadway, New York; and "Armenia," a monthly publication in Italian, address, 73, Corso Regina Margherita, Torino, Italy.

In connection with the Armenian Ladies' Guild, we put in a request last July for contributions towards the purchase of stockings for the Armenian Volunteers for want of which the suffering had

been very great. The matter was taken in hand by Miss Helen Edgar, who recently sent a telegraphic remittance of about £200 for the purchase of these necessary articles. Her kindly efforts have been rewarded by a telegram from Andranik himself, the well-known leader of one of the Armenian Contingents, who says: "Money received—I beg you to accept my cordial gratefulness."

We regret to announce the death in London on November 18th, at the age of 76, of M. Sopon Bezirdjian, an Armenian gentleman who was Chevalier of the Order of St. Catherine, a Laureate at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1900, an Artist-Designer, and the Decorator of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople.

We would remind our readers that the office of our Association will be removing from 44, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W., to 47a, Redcliffe Square, London, S.W., and all communications after the 18th December should be forwarded to the latter address.

Russia and Armenia.

The Orange Book.

(Continued from page 100.)

VIII.

Document No. 131, dated 7/20th January, 1914, is a telegram from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to M. Sazanoff, wherein M. Kulkevitch informs the Foreign Minister that informations received from the British Consul at Erzeroum, in addition to the telegram from M. Adamoff, the Russian Consul at Erzeroum, point to an outburst of Mussulman fanaticism should there be further delay in the introduction of reforms. He, also, summarises the main points of the reform scheme which he, under his own name, has submitted to the Grand Vizier: to the effect that, until the final census, which will be taken under the supervision of the Inspectors-General at the nearest date, and not later than one year from then, no attempt will be made to define and fix the real status of the different religions, nationalities and languages; that the members elected for the General Councils in the vilayets of Erzeroum, Van and Bitlis, shall be chosen in equal halves from the Moslem and non-Moslem populations; that in the vilayets of Sivas, Kharput, and Diarbekir, two-thirds of the

members shall be chosen from the Moslem population and one-third from the non-Moslem ; that the members of the Administrative Council will be elected as heretofore, half from the Moslems and half from the non-Moslems. This principle of equality between the Moslems and non-Moslems will be strictly applied also to the appointments of the police and gendarmerie ; and as far as possible to the appointments of officials in all other public offices.

The Chargé d'Affaires then gives a summary of the text which he has submitted with regard to the schools.

The share which will be allotted to each community from the budget, towards public instruction in each vilayet, shall be determined by the proportion of its contribution to the taxes taken for public instruction. The Imperial Government will place no obstacles in the way of members of a community participating in the support of their own schools.

The Chargé d'Affaires then furnishes details of his procedure with regard to persuading the influential Ministers to agree to the reforms. That whereas the Grand Vizier had expressed his sympathy, the more influential members of the Porte, such as Talaat Bey and Kiamil Bey, had objected to the principle of equality being applied in Erzeroum as mentioned in the Ambassador's telegram of the 16th January, agreeing to its application only in the vilayets of Van and Bitlis. In this connection the French Chargé d'Affaires had promised to use his influence with his personal friend Djemal Pasha.

After pointing out the obstinacy of the Ministers in whose hands the fate of Turkey really lies, and expressing his disbelief in the acceptance by the Council of Ministers of the Ambassador's proposals, M. Kulkevitch concludes with a request for further instructions, since his own personal representations have failed ; and also begs the Foreign Minister to put some pressure on the Turkish Ambassador at Petrograd with regard to the proposed reforms.

Document No. 132 is a telegram dated 8th January, 1914, from M. Sazonoff to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople, replying to M. Kulkevitch's telegram of the 7/20th January. The Foreign Minister expresses his approval of the text concerning the educational institutions. With regard to the half and half representation of Moslems and non-Moslems, the limits of any possible concession must be equal representation at the start in the three vilayets of Van, Bitlis and Erzeroum.

Document No. 133 is a telegram dated 10/23rd January, 1914, from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople to M. Sazonoff, wherein he informs the Foreign Secretary that the question of educational instruction has been settled on the basis of the proposals submitted by him. He states, however, that the proposals for the half and half representation of Moslems and non-Moslems in the administrative councils of the vilayets, as also in the appointments of public officials, had been rejected by the Council of Ministers. As insisted on before, equal representation was only to be allowed in the vilayets of Van and

Bitlis, and could not be permitted in Erzeroum, where the Turkish population was more concentrated, and the influence of the Musulman clergy more potent. With reference to equal representation in the police and gendarmerie, the Council of Ministers adduced the reason for the rejection of this proposal, that it would be impossible to discharge at once a large number of the present gendarmerie and police since their homes for the most part were in Macedonia and Thracia.

Document No. 134 is a telegram dated 12/25th January, 1914, from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople to M. Sazonoff, wherein that official informs the Foreign Minister that the Grand Vizier and Talaat Bey have consented to the introduction of half and half representation in the vilayet of Erzeroum, but with this limitation, that the reform should not be introduced at once, as in the cases of Van and Bitlis, but should be delayed until the result of the census is known within a year. With regard to the equal distribution of the offices in the police and gendarmerie, the Ministers had only thus far agreed : that the equality of representation should be applied by the Inspector not to its fullest extent and at once, but according to the suggestion I offered that the proportion should be gradually attained as positions fell vacant. With regard to other offices, the principle of equality was to be introduced to its fullest extent.

M. Kulkevitch then proceeds to the effect that the Porte does not wish to concede to the General Councils of Sivas, Kharput and Diarbekir, a representation of two-thirds Moslem and one-third non-Moslem ; but would prefer to see the introduction at once of a proportional system of election whereby the number of Moslem electors would be fixed according to the lists already existing, and the number of non-Moslems according to lists to be submitted by their communities.

In conclusion, the Chargé d'Affaires mentions the insincerity of the German Embassy, especially apparent during the last negotiations. He gives that as his reason for being unable to obtain any concession on the last point. He adds that if His Excellency considers urgent the request of the Armenians for one-third representation in the vilayets of Kharput, Sivas, and Diarbekir, he should himself personally press the matter upon the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires in Petrograd, failing which he begs him to authorise him (M. Kulkevitch) by letter to conclude the agreement on the basis already put forward.

Document No. 135 is a telegram from M. Sazonoff to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople under date of 15th January, wherein the Foreign Minister informs him that he has indicated to Fakhreddin Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in Petrograd, that the time has come to settle finally the Armenian reforms ; that further delay by the Porte will only produce undesirable effects of discord, and set in motion disturbing elements in certain quarters. To avoid all this he has asked Fakhreddin Bey to telegraph to his Government to the effect that in the vilayets of Kharput and Diarbekir the proportion of electors should be two-thirds Moslem and one-third non-Moslem.

Document No. 136 is a telegram dated 16/29th January, from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople to M. Sazonoff, wherein that official informs the Foreign Minister that the Porte had decided, in the event of not receiving a reply to the disputed questions at the earliest date from the Imperial Government, to refer the matter to the Great Powers which had taken part in the conference of the previous summer at Enikeui, for the final solution of the questions still in dispute between them. M. Kulkevitch enumerates the two questions which the Porte will put forward :

- (a) Is the proportional representative system of election the most suitable with the end in view of impartiality ?
- (b) Are the lists prepared by the Armenians themselves to be accepted as sufficient guarantees on which reliance could be placed for proportional elections ?

M. Kulkevitch concludes with the fear that, the questions being put in so disadvantageous a manner, the answer may not be in their favour, inasmuch as the proposer of the interrogatories is one of the representative Powers.

Document No. 137 is a telegram dated 16/29th January, from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople to M. Sazonoff, wherein M. Kulkevitch refers to the insistence of the Foreign Minister on certain points as having produced the desired effect. The Grand Vizier had invited him to a personal conference with him, at which, after long discussion, he had succeeded in obtaining the following concessions, which were also approved of by the Council of Ministers :—

"That in the vilayets of Kharput, Sivas, and Diarbekir the members of the General Councils should be elected on the system of proportional representation ; that until the final census should be taken, the number of the Moslem electors should be decided by the lists, already to hand from the previous election, and that the number of non-Moslem electors should be decided by lists compiled and presented by their own communities. If there should be material difficulties making such a temporary system of electing impossible, the Inspectors-General should have the right to offer for the aforesaid vilayets some other system of proportional representation more in accord with the present demands and conditions of the three above-named vilayets."

This compromise must, M. Kulkevitch adds, be taken as the extreme limit of concessions by the Porte, further than which they will not go. The text of the agreement, while not infringing in any way on the selfishness of the Turks, gives to the Inspectors-General, who will of course be supported by the Powers, a chance of being able to guarantee for the Armenians a fair representation in the councils of the above-named vilayets.

In conclusion, taking into consideration all that has passed, he begs the Foreign Minister to accept the above-mentioned text, in order to escape the possibilities put forward in his previous telegram, and to retain the conduct of Armenian reforms always in Russian hands.

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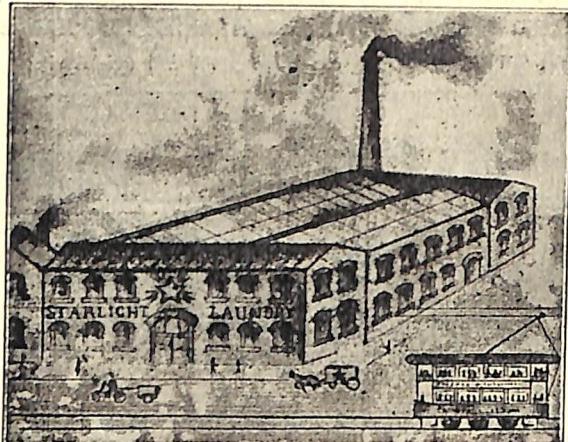
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Document No. 138 is a telegram dated January 17th, 1914, from M. Sazonoff to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople, wherein the Foreign Minister, referring to the telegram of the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople of December 16th, 1913, informs M. Kulkevitch that it would seem from information received from Berlin by Armenians in Petrograd, that the Sultan has asked the Powers to name ten candidates for the post of Inspectors-General, from which he would choose two. Such a proposition, M. Sazonoff insists, is not in keeping with the conditions set forth in the above telegram as to the Grand Vizier's verbal application to the Powers. And, furthermore, the Inspectors-General have already been nominated by us as the result of international *pourparlers*.

Document No. 139 is a telegram dated 18/31st January, 1914, from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople to M. Sazonoff, wherein that official informs the Foreign Minister, in reply to his telegram of the 17th January, that the negotiations between the Porte and the Powers will be in accordance with the telegram of the Ambassador dated December 16th. He concludes with the statement that the information received by the Armenians from Berlin have no foundation whatsoever.

(To be continued.)

The Fate of the Syrians.

Seeing that *Ararat* is truly a searchlight on all the sufferings of Eastern Christians, a comforter to the broken-hearted and a fighter for their rights, I have felt it my duty and privilege to write just some bare facts of the past and present position of the Syrians in Urmia (Urumia) and Salmas in Persia, and in the Kurdistan mountains south of Van. What I will say of Urmia and Salmas applies equally to the Armenians of the two places, in the latter of which they predominate.

The Russian troops had been in occupation of Aderbijan, north-western Persia, for a number of years, and their presence meant safety, prosperity and security of person and property both to Christians and Moslems alike. Under the conditions then prevailing the Kurds had been restrained entirely from their occupation of plunder, and the Turks were deprived of prominence in that part of Persia which they have coveted for years. The Persians also had been restless and their attitude towards the Christians was somewhat doubtful. On January 2nd, 1915, it was suddenly known that the Russian army, consulate and all, were leaving Urmia—and not that alone, but it was found later that they were withdrawing from all northern Persia. It came like a thunderbolt, for it had been positively stated all along to the Christian population that the Russian army would under no circumstances withdraw from Urmia. Here, then, in the heart of winter some

45,000 Christians, from nine to ten days' journey from the nearest railway station to the Russian border, found themselves in a very precarious position. No conveyances, horses, etc., etc., could be had for love or money. Roughly speaking, one-third of the people who happened to know of this withdrawal, through whose villages the army was to pass, left for Russia. The great majority simply left their homes and walked out. Some knew of the withdrawal only during the night and so could hardly make any provision for the journey. A good number of people from Tergawar and Mergavar, and outlying districts, who were already refugees in Urmi—having been plundered on two or three occasions previously left with the army. So there was a concourse of over 10,000 people, mostly women and children, walking in bitter cold, scantily provided, sore-footed, wearied, that had to make their way to the Russian frontier over mountains and along miserable roads and through swamps. Their cries and shrieks as they walked were heartrending. The people of Salmas had left two or three days earlier and under somewhat better conditions. There was a swamp between Salmas and Khoi where people actually went knee-deep, where oxen and buffaloes died of cold, and where there was no real resting place and provisions could only be procured from a distance of some ten miles. The agonies of the children were inexpressible. Some mothers had two and three children to take care of, and they dragged one along while they carried the other on their shoulders. Many died on the roadside, many lost their parents, many were left unburied, many were picked up by the Russian cossacks and were taken to the Russian Caucasus to be there cared for by Armenians and others. Such was their plight when they reached Russia, and in some way or another were provided for in the Syrian and Armenian villages in Erivan and in Tiflis, where they passed their time till the spring, when they again wearied of their lives and returned to Urmi and Salmas in the months of May and June.

About two-thirds of the people who stayed behind at Urmi, had the cruelest of fates. No sooner had the Russian forces withdrawn than the roads were closely guarded, and no one was permitted to come in or go out of Urmi for over four months. The Kurds poured in from every quarter and the Persian Moslems joined hands with them. They engulfed the Christian villages; plunder, pillage, massacre and rape were the order of the day. Every village paid its share. First they killed the men, then they took the women—those who had not escaped—and carried them away for themselves or forced them to become Moslems, and finally they plundered and burned the villages. In one village 80 were killed, in another 50, in a third 30, and so the thing went on in varying degrees among the 70 odd villages in Urmi. About one thousand people were disposed of in this way. In the meantime all that were able escaped to the city, to the American mission quarters, whose premises were soon filled to suffocation, and altogether some

20,000 people or more found shelter in the American and French mission quarters, while some hid themselves among Moslem friends and landlords. These, in their flight, were repeatedly robbed on the way by soldiers and officers sent for their protection, and by civilians as well. Many a woman came terror-stricken, shrieking, and bleeding, and almost naked; and many were forced to become Moslems. Some 150 cases or more of these unfortunate women came under the notice of the American missionaries, who tried to restore them to their own folk. One woman had two sons, four and six years of age, who were thrown into a brook to freeze, while the brute of a mullah set to work to force their mother. She at last escaped and took away the children alive, but they died of exposure the next morning.

Thus in the course of a fortnight all the 45,000 Syrians and Armenians were plundered—not one village escaped. There was no exception. The village of Iryawa was in the keeping of an Armenian—a Turkish subject. He, with twelve other Armenian soldiers, were shot, and the village plundered. Gulpashan was the last to be attacked, when, on February 1st, 51 of its elders were taken during the night to the graveyard and there murdered most horribly and their brains knocked out. The orgies committed on women and tender girls can be left only to the imagination. I know the village from childhood and all its inhabitants.

The refugees in the French and American mission yards remained there for over four and a half months, in daily terror, and fear of their lives; the quarters were crowded to suffocation, and no man dared leave the premises. Seeing that a few houses of Christians were left in the city which were not plundered, the dozen or less of Turkish officials, who had control of things, began to fleece the people. They forced them to pay a fine of 6,600 *tomans* (a *toman* is about one pound sterling), on the pretext that the Christian stores, offices and shops in the city would be saved from plunder. But no sooner was this sum extracted through the kindly offices of the American missionaries than they began to put up to auction and dispose of all the shops, offices and stores. Not satisfied with what they had done, they obtained 5,500 *tomans* as blood money for Mar Elia, the Syrian Bishop, whom they found in hiding on the roof of a house, and threatened to kill him unless the money was paid. Then, again, such prominent men as Shamasha Lazar, Shamasha Babo and Dr. Isaac Daniel had to pay 3,000, 2,000 and 1,000 *tomans* respectively to save their lives. Such was the perpetual terror in which the whole community lived.

Soon disease broke out, typhoid played havoc, and over 4,000 died of the epidemic alone. There was scarcely any life left in the remnant of the people when the Russians retook Urmi in May. They were worn out and so emaciated that one could hardly recognise them. It was the first time after months that they were able to crawl out of their filthy winter quarters and to inhale fresh air. The Americans, who had fed these people all through the winter, now

gave the men and women spades and sickles to return to their villages, and some flour to start life in their ruined homes. I have seen villages turned to ashes, where not one window, door or any woodwork was to be found. Indeed, one day a woman came and said to me, "I have one room out of seven left on the second storey, but what shall I do ? There is not a single ladder in all the village that I can borrow so as to mount to it." What they had left in their "homes," these people found on their return to have been eaten by dogs and cats. They have not sown anything this autumn, nor were they able to do any sowing or cultivating in the spring. Ninety per cent. of them have absolutely nothing left, and they sleep on the bare, hard earthen floor, with no bedding or any other protection beyond their ordinary rags. THIS IS THEIR SECOND WINTER !

The majority of the Salmas Christians had left for Russia by the time the Urmi people reached Salmas. But there were some left who had hidden themselves among kind Moslems here and there. When the Turks took possession of Salmas, they used every means to find out the whereabouts and number of all the Christians that had remained behind, and one night during March last they took some 723 Armenians and Syrians to the fields in Haftevan and mangled and butchered them in a most brutal manner. Three days later the Russians retook Salmas and buried these people in some trenches which they dug for them. The same fate was awaiting the women, and perhaps worse, but the advent of the Russians saved them.

The troubles of Mar Shimun's independent tribes of Tiari, Tkhuma, etc., in Kurdistan, south of Van, began last June. Mar Shimun's seat in the village of Quodshani was attacked by regular troops and Kurds, destroyed and plundered. Most of the people escaped to Salmas. Mar Shimun at the time was in the interior with the main body of his congregation. A regular Turkish force with artillery and some 30,000 Kurds, etc., marched on the Christians. The forty villages of Berwar, those nearest towards Mosul were destroyed first ; and only some 17 of them are known to have escaped. The women of many of the others have been forced to become Moslems. For forty days the people defended themselves against superior forces, and that only with flint locks and antiquated rifles. At last, unable to withstand the onslaught of modern artillery, with which the Turks also bombarded the Church of Mar Sawa, the people withdrew to the interior of the mountains with the Patriarch's family in their centre ; and here they subsisted on herbs and some sheep they had taken with them, while many were dying daily of starvation. Mar Shimun came to Salmas—with whom I had an interview and who has sent me to speak for him and his—to effect the escape of his people, or at least of as many of them as could be saved. All this happened in the latter part of September, when, according to the telegram received here from H.M. Consul Shipley at Tabriz, some 25,000 had already arrived, and with them Mar Shimun, himself as destitute as the rest, and 10,000 more were

to follow. The condition of the remnants, for in all there are over 100,000, is very precarious, but let us hope not hopeless, and to whom assistance can be sent through Mar Shimun and through H.B.M. Consul Shipley.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission and the Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Relief Fund have sent £500 and £550 respectively to these people. I understand that the Lord Mayor's Fund is telegraphing a further £500 for the relief of the Christians in Persia, for which I for one feel infinitely grateful, as it cannot but assuage some of the terrible suffering that exists.

Let us now survey the whole situation. As over 90 per cent. of the Christians at Urmi are destitute, and the condition of some 10,000 to 15,000 Armenians and Syrians in Salmas is not much better, we have at once some 80,000 people and more who are to be assisted, if they are not to starve during the coming winter. In this we are not taking into account the remnant of Mar Shimun's people or any Armenians that might have found their way to Persia, where the Russians are now in occupation, and where the condition of the Christians will be, so far as personal safety goes, hopeful. The turn events are taking politically in Persia seems also favourable, but one must never be too confident of the political situation there.

I am delighted to see such a magnificent spirit of response from all corners of the world whence Armenians themselves are coming to the help of their countrymen. We have to cheer up each other in our misfortunes in every way we can, till God in His own way will solve the problem. And with such noble friends as we have in England, among whom are the Primate, Lord Bryce, and Members of Parliament like Mr. Aneurin Williams and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and I am sure in America as well—people who would do anything for us—let us be patient and prayerful, hoping for recompense and release from this tyranny that has had us in its grip ever since Mohammedan rule dawned in our country.

PAUL SHIMMON.

Armenian Orphans in Tiflis.

There are few refugees in this great city—some 2,000 only. Most of our hapless countrymen, who had to leave their homes and all they possessed in Van, Alashkerd, Melazgerd, etc., are now crowded in the various camps in Etchmiadzin, Eriwan, Elisabethpol, and in other Armenian centres in Transcaucasia. But the Armenian societies here have made a special point of taking under their care as great a number of orphans as it is possible for them to accommodate and to maintain. Some 2,500 of our orphan children have already been thus provided for in Tiflis, and their number is daily increasing. These are composed of boys and girls whose mothers and fathers have been massacred by

Turks, the children being providentially rescued by others, as well as children who were abandoned by their parents during the massacres and flight and were picked up along the roads by other refugees.

It was with a feeling of combined grief and pleasure that I witnessed the official inauguration of one of these orphanages which is being administered by the Union of Turkish Armenians. These people have laudably started an undertaking of this character on the scantiest of means—a monthly contribution being voluntarily given by the members forming the administration, whose homes have been devastated in Turkish Armenia. The orphanage has been temporarily established at the monastery of Girganis, an Armenian Convent in the outskirts of the city. At the time of its opening, the orphanage contained 180 boys and girls, who had been cared for during a period of two months. They were picked up in a most frightful condition, having been lying for days in indescribable squalor and altogether uncared for while the massacres were going on. These boys and girls, between the ages of 7 and 13, exemplify in themselves the living history of the Turkish atrocities through which the Armenian people have been passing. During the first nights they were collected it was heart-rending to see them crying in their sleep, jumping out of their beds to escape the Turkish executioner, whom they saw in their dreams, coming to kill their parents and relatives. They would weep for days, refusing to reply to questions, and rejecting all food offered them. Their young hearts had been broken by the terrible scenes they had witnessed during the last few months. Happily the mental and physical condition of these unfortunate children have much improved in the last two months of their stay in Tiflis—life seems to be reasserting itself, and even smiles may now and then be seen on their faces. They are absolutely clean in their appearance; they are cleanly clothed and fairly well fed.

It was on a rainy morning that many Armenians from Tiflis proceeded to Girganis to have a look at these waifs from Turkish Armenia, and to see for themselves what sort of an existence had been planned for them. A solemn service in the church was a preliminary to the proceedings; and this was celebrated in honour of the parents of the orphans who had fallen under the *yatagan* of the Turk. The attendance of those interested was large and comprised both sexes; it no doubt would have been very much larger had the weather been more favourable. After the service a dinner was set out for the orphans in the presence of the people; and following this came the ceremony of formally opening the orphanage. In spite of a deeply felt sorrow and bitter memories, all efforts were directed towards infusing into the proceedings a cheerful atmosphere with a view to making the orphans feel happier. During the ceremony a band of local musicians played to patriotic songs; the orphan boys and girls made short recitations in verse and prose, and even recounted narratives which gave to the audience glimpses of the horrors of the terrible

trial through which these tender morsels of humanity had but recently passed. Many of the ladies present—nay, even the men—wept while a bright little girl gave her dead mother's message to the outside world. How well was graven in her memory, she said, that unlucky day in June when they were driven from their home—she, her father and her mother. They took refuge in the neighbouring forest. Then, in touching accents, she narrated how the next day Turkish soldiers roamed about the wood in search of Armenians, and came across them. They shot her father dead and ill-treated her mother. On the latter resisting, a Turk mortally wounded her near her heart, and she fell to the ground. In her dying moments she called the girl to her to kiss her for the last time, and gave her a message to deliver if she survived. The little girl, deeply moved, then pronounced the message which was in her keeping :

"I am dying for the sake of my honour, my religion and my nation. Give my kisses to all Armenians throughout the world, and tell them that my blood, and the blood of those who have fallen in these massacres, will purify Armenia, shake off every vestige of her bondage, and make her a free and happy country."

The audience, moved with mixed feelings of pride and sorrow, received this dead mother's message with a solemn, suppressed attempt at applause; and were soon after listening to the narrative of a boy orphan, who brought them face to face again with the awful tragedy that had overtaken their country. In the course of his statement, he pointed his finger towards the land of desolation, the valley of Alashkerd, which was now a heap of ruin and of ashes, and which was but recently his home and his joy. Those very ruins were his home, said he, and he would reconstruct it no sooner he was in a position to do so, and fill it again with happiness as it had been of yore; for was not his heart buried in that land, though it had been outraged by the Turk?

At this notable gathering funds were collected for the orphanage from those present, and an appeal was issued to those who were in a position to contribute towards its continued upkeep. Part of the expenses is being paid by the Russian authorities, but these expenses must necessarily go on increasing, as orphans are being daily brought in from the refugee camps, where the parents succumb either to epidemics or to the trials they have undergone. An urgent appeal was also prepared to our compatriots abroad, and to all who interest themselves in humanitarian work.

And those who walked back that day from Girganis to their homes, through an avenue of trees bedecked with flags, which bore on them appeals for money, will remember to their dying day, graven deep in their hearts, those messages delivered by the girl and the boy! The mother of one died cheerfully for the sake of her own honour, and a martyr to her religion and her country; the other, in his tender years,

gave an earnest of his resolve that, come what may, he would rebuild the home of his fathers—a true presage of Armenia's future, and in keeping with her undying destiny !

Tiflis, Nov. 4th, 1915.

A. S. SAFRASTIAN.

The Situation in Armenia.

Behind the curtain.—With the closing of the Dardanelles to the Allied Powers, Turkey dropped the curtain of black secrecy before the eyes of the civilised world, in order that she might work out her fiendish plans without interference. Consequently, with all communications severed, there were few who could apprehend the actual situation and foresee the coming crisis, and these few could only see it in a vague form. The inhabitants were not allowed to emigrate, no matter how urgent their business was. In one case where an intelligent young man applied to the Turkish Government for a passport to Bulgaria, he was not refused point blank; it was with alluring and flattering words that the Turkish authorities told him to wait, as the country needed the help of intelligent young men like himself, and that it would be a loss to the country for him to be allowed to leave at this crisis. Even the Turkish papers at Constantinople were unanimous in helping to cast a screen over the real situation, by praising the Armenians for their faithfulness and help in the hour of Turkey's greatest trial. Enver Pasha himself made speeches in which he praised the sincerity and bravery of the Armenian soldiers, while at that very moment intrigues and conspiracies were being hatched behind the scenes, having those very Armenians as their predestined victims.

Then there came a day when the curtain was lifted. A scene of unspeakable devastation met the eyes of the civilised world, deeds which surpassed in cruelty and horror anything that history has recorded during the past thousand years, and at which the whole world has stood aghast even in this year of horrors. Then after a brief period the curtain fell at the end of the first scene of the greatest tragedy that ever befel a nation. Turkey discovered that it was those neutrals, who were allowed to leave the country, had betrayed her game and had laid bare her secret plans. So she dropped the curtain again.

What is it that is going on *now* behind that dark curtain ? What has become of our young men who were cast into prison ? How many of them in the army are still alive and working as slaves on the roads ? What of the little children who were crying for bread months ago, and of the mothers bereft of their sons and daughters ? And what of the worse fate that has befallen our pure young girls in the harems of ruffians, brutes and murderers ?

A glimpse into the deserts.—The American cruiser "Chester" has arrived in Egypt with a number of refugees of the Allied countries aboard. These came together from various parts of Turkey to Urfa, from whence they reached the coast through Aleppo. According to their report there were about 6,000 widows and orphans in Aleppo from the six Armenian vilayets. None of the orphan boys are over 11 years of age. In and around Hama there are about 3,000 Armenian refugees. At Res-el-Ain 1,000, and at Deiz-el-Zor 3,000, altogether about 13,000. Most of these people have travelled for about 3 or 4 months and are in a desperate condition, barefooted, hungry and without clothes on their backs. Among this number there is not to be found a single good-looking boy or girl, as they have all been taken by the Turks before they reached those places. It is reported that about 60,000 widows and orphans were deported toward Aleppo, 40 % of whom reached their destination. The remaining 60 % were murdered on the way by the Turks.

In Cilicia, from the vilayets of Aleppo and Adana and from the Sanjak of Marash, all the Armenians were deported. Some from Zeitun have been sent to Konia, others to Bab, an Arabian village near Aleppo, and to Sourouj, a Kurdish village near Urfa. But the greater number of them have been sent to Deir-el-zor, where about 25,000 refugees are in a most desperate condition. It is reported that there are still some of the Zeitoun Armenians in the mountains, who are defending themselves from the Turks. Refugees from Adana, Tarsus, Mersine, Aintab and Kilise have been sent to Hama, Homs and other Turkish cities of the interior. All the Armenian churches and schools have been confiscated by the Government and are used as mosques and hospitals ; 20,000 Armenians from Sivas and Erzeroum are reported to have reached Aleppo, and another group of Sivas Armenians have reached Harput in 28 days.

The situation in Constantinople.—According to reports from Bulgaria, the persecution of the Armenians in Constantinople is being carried on with the utmost zeal. The chief of police has divided the city into sections, and each section is under the supervision of secret agents. The names of all the Armenians have been registered and lists of these names have been handed to the secret agents, who in the dead of night have entered certain houses and have cast the men into prison, carried the women to the harems, and have robbed the houses. From Beshigtsash alone more than 80 young women and girls have been taken to the harems. In Kum Kapou many young men have been arrested. The police have raided the Karaguezian Orphanage and have arrested all the teachers and the oldest of the orphans. Kelegian Orphanage has been confiscated, 20 of the orphans have been transferred to the German Orphanage, 30 have been sent to Adana, and the others to an unknown destination. During the last few weeks, 8,000 Constantinople Armenians have been exiled. Before this, 10,000 Armenians were reported to have been taken to Adapazar

and massacred there in the mountains. They live from day to day under a cloud of fear. No Armenian dares to leave his house. According to the "Temps" the police authorities have received sealed orders which are to be opened some day by special command. These are reported to contain the orders of a general massacre of the Armenians in Constantinople.

Poverty and misery prevail on every hand, and no work of benevolence is allowed to be carried on among the Armenians. The Washington Government has sought to send aid to the Armenians through the American Red Cross, but the Turkish Government has refused the proposition on the grounds that the Armenians have deserved their punishment. At times poor old women are seen at the bakers', waiting their turn all day and then departing without being allowed to purchase any bread, besides being insulted and abused by the cruel mob. The Armenian national Hospital in Constantinople is not allowed to give aid to any of their people, but is forced to place itself entirely at the disposal of 200 wounded Turkish soldiers.

Several waggons full of children are reported to have reached Constantinople recently. The Patriarch requested that they might be put in the Armenian orphanages, but the authorities refused the request and had the children distributed among the Turkish families.

According to telegrams from Rome, towards the end of September the Armenian Patriarch had been imprisoned in his house. It is also reported through Egypt that Yervant Vartabed Perdahjian—the Patriarch's assistant—had committed suicide.

A telegram from Athens, dated Oct. 17th, states that the Armenians at Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmara, were put in three steamers and small boats tied to the steamers which were bound for Haidar Pasha; 110 of them died of exposure in the boats; others who reached Haidar Pasha were not allowed to land. At night a storm wrecked the boats and all the Armenians in them perished.

Who is responsible?—When the full reports of the Armenian atrocities reached the world's press, a wave of indignation and horror swept over all Europe and America. In neutral and Allied countries people organised meetings and sent protests to President Wilson, asking him to use his influence at Constantinople to stop the massacres. At the same time appeals were issued in America, Switzerland, England, France, Italy and Russia, and signed by hundreds of the most prominent men of the countries on behalf of the Armenians to protect those who had survived.

On Oct. 7th a big meeting was held in the Century Theatre, New York, under the auspices of the Committee on Armenian Atrocities and Committee of Armenian Sympathisers. There were more than 2,000 present. Many representatives of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish Churches and prominent professors were on the platform.

Hamilton Holten, the editor of the "Independent," presided. Resolutions were passed and sent to the President of the United States. Similar meetings were held in Switzerland and appeals signed by well-known men—members of Parliament, Judges, Councillors of State, celebrated barristers, Catholic and Protestant divines, and distinguished University professors.

As an answer to all these accusations, the Turkish Government has sent a report to Mr. Lansing through Husein Bey, Secretary of the Turkish Embassy, in which he describes in detail some deeds of barbarism committed by the Russian soldiers who invaded Turkish territory by the assistance of Greeks and Armenians, thus laying the whole responsibility on Russia and the Armenians themselves.

German papers are in general silent on this subject, but they have published a report by Refad, the head of the "Young-Egypt" movement, in which they put the whole responsibility of the massacres on England, who, they claim, organised a secret revolution among the Armenians, who were to rise against the Government as soon as the Allies entered the Dardanelles.

Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador at Washington, Jelal Bey, Turkish consul at New York, the Turkish consul at Geneva, Switzerland, and many others have published articles in which they have called these atrocities pure inventions.

On the other hand, some German and Swiss papers have published articles which refute all these accusations. *Die Christliche Welt*, of Marburg, states that,

"although the Armenians sympathised with Russia, as she was the one country which insisted on introducing reforms in Armenia, however they remained faithful. The Patriarch published a proclamation by which he asked all Armenians to take arms for Turkey. Nevertheless, the events which are now taking place in Armenia surpass in horror anything which they have undergone in the history of the Armenian race. While the Armenians were without arms the Kurds, armed to the teeth, swept down upon them, pillaged their villages, and attacked their women. The Armenians defended the honour of their wives and daughters, and a Kurd was killed. Then the general massacre began, and the sacking of Armenian villages continued with all the fury of the Orient. The inhabitants of entire villages were butchered and the villages burned to the ground. Thousands of men have fled to Russia, others have been exiled by the Turkish Government, and many others have been deported to Mesopotamia. A number of Armenian officials were hanged without trial. Terrible is the history of this people, and every man who has not a heart of stone should feel a profound sympathy for the Armenians, whose agonies are unparalleled. How long shall the Armenians be the defenceless prey of their enemies?"

Dr. Lepsius, who was reported to have gone to Constantinople to find out the truth about the atrocities attributed to the Turks, was not able to remain long in that city ; he was " advised " by the German Ambassador to leave it with as little delay as possible. He has returned to Geneva, and reports that all that is published is true and the German authorities are not able to stop it ; and he looks ahead for the day when the victorious German army will enter Constantinople and take everything into its own hands. Then, he thinks, the atrocities will stop. He says further that what is going on in Turkey is an old plan, from the day when the Young Turks were forced to accept the scheme of reforms for the Armenians. They have only been waiting for an opportunity to take vengeance. They are simply annihilating the Armenians from the country. The accusation of fomenting an Armenian revolution is simply a pretext. Next, they will persecute the Greeks, Jews and Arabs. They have already massacred 4,000 Jews in Jerusalem and deported 7,000.

The following is an extract from a letter, dated Sept. 10th, written by General Cherif-Pasha in the " Journal de Genève."

" I would like to express my indignation against the murderous ' Young Turk Party,' who have renewed, in the 20th century, the atrocities which we thought belonged to the barbarous past, and which excel the凶cities of Jengiz-Khan and Tamerlane

" If there is a race which is bound to Turkey with her faithfulness and her service to the country, with her statesmen and talented officers which she has produced, and which is known by her intelligence in all the walks of life, in commerce, in trade, in science and fine arts, this race is Armenian

" The Armenians are specially adapted to be the expounders of civilisation. They are familiar with our highest ideals and readily assimilate all the advantages of European culture

" And to think that the nation which should represent a fertile soil for the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire is being exterminated, is enough to make the hardest heart bleed. And I would like to express my indignation against these executors and my most profound sympathy for their victims."

Space forbids us to go further. We have to deal with the Turk, the same to-day as yesterday, and unless a strong Power intervenes and enforces justice, the future condition of the Christian subjects under Turkish domination will be as deplorable as it is to-day.

G. H. PAELIAN.

A Friend of the Weak and Oppressed.

Mr. Noel Edward Buxton, M.P., is the second son of the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., on whose recent death we take this, our first, opportunity of offering our sincere condolence and sympathy with his family. Mr. Noel Buxton was born in 1869, and was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took honours in the School of History. When his father was appointed Governor of South Australia in 1896, he went out with him and acted as his A.D.C. His Parliamentary experience began with an unsuccessful contest as a Liberal candidate for the Borough of Ipswich in 1900 ; but in 1905 he was returned at a bye-election for the Whitby Division of the North Riding of Yorkshire. This seat he lost at the General Election of 1906. In January, 1910, he was elected for North Norfolk, and has represented that constituency since that date. In Dod's " Parliamentary Companion " he is described as " a Liberal, in favour of Temperance Reform, Small Holdings, etc." To those who know him that " etc." conveys much meaning ; for it may safely be said that there is no movement for social reform, no plan for improving and elevating the conditions of the people, both morally and physically, no scheme to bring justice and Christian principles to bear on our relations with weaker peoples, and especially the aboriginal and native races which so much need protection from their civilised conquerors and neighbours, that does not find a stalwart and earnest supporter in Noel Buxton. The quiet and useful work he did as a member of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians and on the Home Office Departmental Committee on Lead Poisoning was congenial to a man who—as his friends know—is always seeking to help others, and to save them from the consequences of their own follies or the perversities and iniquities of their fellow-men. And all these good works are done unostentatiously, almost by stealth, and he would blush if we gave them fame by attempting to enumerate or describe them. But they are known to some, who hold him in high honour because of them, and who reverence the simple, straightforward, Quaker-bred spirit that prompts them.

What led a man of this character to plunge into the seething cauldron of Balkan affairs ? There is a story, the truth of which we cannot guarantee—that it was due to a suggestion made by Mr. Gladstone, that a member of a family which had a traditional *vogue* for supplying champions of the oppressed, should find one for the victims of Turkish misrule and tyranny. *Se non e vero e ben trovato.* But perhaps the cause may be more easily and simply found in the chivalrous crusading spirit of Mr. Noel Buxton himself. Here were victims of cruelty and injustice who sorely needed a champion and he not only plunged into the battle on their behalf, but gathered around him a band of men whom he formed into the Balkan Committee in

1903, and as their leader ever since he has consistently and courageously striven to secure peace and liberty for the Balkan peoples. With that work he has been specially identified both in Parliament and in the country, and among the peoples to whose cause he has devoted so much of his life the name of Noel Buxton is revered like those of their national saints and heroes.

On the readers of *Ararat* and their compatriots he has a special claim for his generous and enlightened services on behalf of their sacred cause. Not content with the second-hand evidence derived from travellers' tales, newspaper reports, and official documents, he, accompanied by his younger brother, the Rev. Harold Buxton, went two years ago on a tour through a great part of Armenia, to see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears the condition and the story of that distressful country. The results of their investigations were published in a little book, *Travel and Politics in Armenia*. To the cause of the Armenian people he has ever since devoted himself with unselfish and untiring zeal both in Parliament and as a member of the British Armenia Committee. To many that is, doubtless, one of the "lost causes" of the world; but to Armenians who know the history of their race, how it has survived through centuries of oppression, and "though often crushed has still uprisen," it is and ever will be a living faith that some day, in God's day, its wrongs will be righted.

For right is right since God is God,
And right the day will win.
To doubt it were disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.

They know, however, that this can only be brought about with the aid of good and true friends, among the best and staunchest of whom they count Mr. Noel Buxton.

British Parliament and Armenia.

Last month we reproduced the discussion on Armenian affairs which took place in the House of Lords on October 6th, and now we give to our readers a full account of similar proceedings in the House of Commons on November 17th. Mr. Aneurin Williams and Mr. T. P. O'Connor were at their best in propounding the condition of affairs existing in Armenia, and the extent to which assistance might be brought to bear on its unhappy people; while Lord Robert Cecil, from the Government point of view, sympathetically touched on the whole situation, and gave the gratifying information that the General Officer Commanding the British Forces in Mesopotamia had been instructed to render assistance, wherever possible, to the Armenian victims of deportation, should he obtain news of them through Arab tribes. Subjoined is the discussion.—EDITOR, *Ararat*.



Photo. by Elliott & Fry, Ltd.

NOEL EDWARD BUXTON,

M.P. (N. Norfolk).

Mr. A. WILLIAMS : On the 6th of October of this year there was a discussion in the House of Lords which, it is no exaggeration to say, sent a wave of horror not only over this country, but over all civilised countries. The great majority of reading and thinking people realised then for the first time that the greatest massacres in history had been taking place during the last five months. In that discussion, initiated by Lord Cromer, and in which Lord Bryce, Lord Crewe, and others took a notable part, there were laid bare the facts of a horror such as the world has never seen.. There have been great conquerors who have slaughtered many thousands and perhaps up to a million men, but those occurrences have been spread over a great number of years. The Turkish authorities within the little time of five months proceeded systematically to exterminate a whole race out of their dominions. They did so not in thousands or tens of thousands, but in hundreds of thousands. One estimate states that five hundred thousand persons were killed within the five months, while according to another estimate the number was as many as eight hundred thousand killed. There have been massacres of the Armenians before this last one. Ten years ago thirty thousand were massacred, and ten years before that a hundred thousand. But those massacres, which made the world shudder at the time, shrink into insignificance beside these massacres which we have been unconsciously living through in the last six or seven months. Since that Debate took place later details have come in from many sources, from German and Swiss missionaries, from escaped refugees, from Europeans in Asiatic Turkey and from sources of all kinds, and all supporting one another in the most astonishing way, so that the facts all hang together and so that, while perhaps it is impossible to be certain of this or that detail, there is no doubt whatever of the broad lines of the occurrences. They are not general statements, but are statements from different quarters, describing what happened at particular places at particular times, with the names of the people who suffered and with the names of the people who inflicted those horrors.

Therefore it is quite certain that the broad facts of the case are established and the broad facts are these, that in the month of May or thereabouts orders were sent through the Executive authority—that is, the “gang” as Lord Bryce called them : the gang of ruffians who call themselves the Government of Turkey at the present time—systematically to nearly all the centres in Turkey where there was any considerable Armenian population. I believe I am right in saying that these orders can be traced as having been sent to some fifty places, and a uniform procedure was adopted. The Armenians of the particular centre concerned were collected together at short notice, sometimes within a few hours. In some instances where a time had been fixed the gendarmes arrived before the time, the Armenians were hustled out of their beds. Sometimes a little longer, up to ten or twelve days, but I believe never more than a fortnight, was given

It was not men of military age that were taken to be interned. Not at all. The Armenians of military age were already serving Turkey as soldiers in the ranks, except those who were exempted under the laws of Turkey. At this time the men from fifteen to seventy who had not been taken as soldiers were collected together, and for the most part shot. The older men, the women and the children, were ordered to prepare to go away to a great distance. This did not take place simply in one town, but in practically every town where there was an Armenian population of any importance. It did not occur owing to the fanaticism of one particular magistrate or one particular population. It is what took place in obedience to the orders sent round from the central authorities.

These people were marched away, under the control of gendarmes to some extent, but to a large extent under the control of gaol birds—criminals who had been taken out of the gaols for the express purpose of being put in charge of these parties of Armenians. The people were allowed to take very little money with them, and very little food was given them on the journey. In some cases they were allowed to hire carts, in which either to ride themselves or to take their few belongings. In many cases these carts were turned back after a few hours or a few days of the journey had been accomplished, and the people were obliged to go on on foot. Sometimes, when they had gone a few days' journey, they were abandoned by their guards and told that they might go on by themselves. Then, when they had gone on a few miles, Kurds or other brigands fell upon them, robbed and murdered them, violated the women, took the children, and committed every kind of outrage and horror upon them. Sometimes they were not abandoned, but the gendarmes and criminal guards worked their will upon them in every form of brutality and lust. When they came to towns they sold women and girls to the harems, sold the children to Turkish families who wanted boys or girls to work on their farms and to be brought up as Mahomedans, and even sold the children to brothels. So they went on, driving them along, the people dropping by the way from hunger, women going absolutely naked in many cases, having been robbed of their clothes; babies were born by the roadside, and the mothers were told to get up and go on, until they died. At nights women were violated by thieves and ruffians who came to the encampment; and finally, when they reached the River Euphrates, the women in many cases threw themselves into the river in order that they might escape by death from man's inhumanity.

Thus perhaps one-third, or less than one-third, of those who set out came to their destinations. What were those destinations? They were humorously called by the Turkish authorities agricultural colonies. They were, as a matter of fact, places in horrible swamps, or in some cases desert places where there was no water and no possibility of cultivation, where even the miserable Arabs, who had existed there from time immemorial, often perished from hunger. There they

arrived in a perishing condition, and there those who are not yet dead are probably dying rapidly. This was the fate of the Armenians in the scattered towns. I am not talking of the Armenians in Armenia. There is a very great difference. The Armenians in the scattered towns are, for the most part, artisans, merchants, shopkeepers, or professional men. They are very largely educated people, brought up in a degree of refinement, extraordinarily in advance of the Mahomedan population of the country. They felt all the more the sufferings inflicted upon them, having been accustomed to a refined, educated, and, from a material point of view, comfortable life. The Armenians in Armenia were in a different position. They were in their own country, to a very large extent they were agriculturists, and those who remain are agriculturists still, cultivating their fields and living on the produce.

Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER (Mr. WHITLEY) : I must point out to the hon. Member that this subject is in order in the present Debate only in so far as it is connected with something which the hon. Member thinks the British Government could or ought to have done, and that a general description such as he is entering upon is really wide of any possibility on the part of the Government. He began by suggesting that he was going to make a proposal as to what the Government might do. That part of the subject will be relevant to-day.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR : May I respectfully represent to you, Sir, that these things have been done by one of the belligerents with whom we are at war; that they have been sanctioned, if not incited, by another of the enemy belligerents; that it is possible for the Government to represent these things as one of the reasons why they require this large sum of money in order to carry the War to a successful issue; and, finally, that by arousing public attention, both at home and in neutral countries, we may help the Government to take such steps as may be necessary to bring some relief to these people. For these reasons I would strongly appeal to you, if your sense of order permits you to do so, not to limit more than you possibly can the area of the discussion.

Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I was not by any means ruling the subject out of order. If Members have that impression I was certainly misunderstood. I was only saying that it must be connected with something which the Government have left undone or could have done.

Mr. A. WILLIAMS : I am most anxious to follow your ruling. If I have transgressed the rules of order I am sure you will attribute it to my want of experience and want of skill in these matters. My point is that there are two classes of these people, and that they are in different positions. I was going to argue that for both of these classes there is something which our Government at the present time might do, and, owing to the historical responsibilities arising out of the policy of past years, ought to do. I hope I shall be in order in pursuing my subject on those lines. The Armenians, who have been subject to

deportation, hardships, and the gradual wastage of death, as I have described, still, to some extent, exist as refugees in different parts of the Turkish Empire. I have to suggest that our Government should use its very best endeavours, either by the Army, the Navy, or its other resources, to rescue these people wherever it is possible. For instance, a ship of the French Fleet saw a great red cross, and on investigation discovered that there were 4,000 Armenians who had taken refuge in the mountains between Antioch and the sea. There with a few old guns they were fighting a much superior force who were attacking them with a view to extermination. That French ship was able to take off those 4,000 people and land them in Egypt, where the whole, or the great majority of them, will be saved from the fate that threatened them. Without describing in detail similar positions of other bodies of Armenians, I should like to appeal to His Majesty's Government to give us some assurance that they will, to the very best of their power, both by our ships going up and down the coast of Asiatic Turkey, and by our troops, who are now approaching the scenes of these terrible disasters—when they are getting to Bagdad—will do everything in their power to deliver such bodies of these men as are still maintaining themselves heroically against their oppressors.

I desire to call attention to other classes of Armenians who survive at the present time, and that are outside the Turkish Empire. Inside the Turkish Empire there are practically no Armenians left. That is not literally true, of course, but there are very, very few. There were probably 1,200,000 or 1,500,000 at the beginning of this War. If it is true that 500,000 or 800,000 have been killed, then the refugees that have found their way into Russia, Egypt, Bulgaria, and elsewhere probably account for nearly the whole of the remainder of the Armenian population of Turkey. Only a comparatively few thousands are left in Turkey itself. Many of these are fighting for their lives. The refugees are mainly in the Russian Caucasus. Within Armenia proper, the Turkish authorities did not pursue this policy of deportation. They pursued the much simpler policy of straightforward massacre. They sent their troops and gendarmes to attack the people in their villages and farms. Where these people in their mountains or in groups of villages protect themselves they sent their artillery against them and destroyed them wholesale. A large number of them were able to get away under the shelter of the Russian troops. In the ebb and flow of this War Russia has advanced and retreated, and advanced again in Armenia. In the course of these movements a large number of Armenians, escaping these wholesale massacres, have got behind the Russian troops and found their way into the Caucasus. In the Russian Caucasus at the present time there are said to be 180,000 of these refugees. Thirty thousand have died there in exile since last August, and 70,000 have probably returned through the Caucasus again to those parts of Armenia which are now in Russian occupation, or have gone into those parts of Persia where there is some sort of protection by the Russians.

In regard to these people I again urge upon His Majesty's Government to consider whether through our Consuls, if possible through grants of money, and in every way in our power, they will do something to help to save these people from destruction. They are dying by hundreds every week—I might almost say by hundreds every day. We in this country are doing what we can to send relief to them. In the United States money is being collected to relieve them. Their compatriots in the Russian Caucasus are doing exemplary work in the way of relief. They are making very great sacrifices, and working very hard. But the number is overwhelming. In this country we received, we know, about 100,000 Belgian refugees. (An Hon. MEMBER : "200,000 !") Well, 200,000, and even for a great rich country like this that was considered to be a very great task to undertake. If you consider the comparatively small number of Armenians living in Russia, perhaps 1,500,000, and consider their limited resources, I think we may say that they have done nobly. This we may say : in relieving the refugees no distinction is made of race or religion. Even the few Mahomedan refugees who have found their way into the Russian Caucasus, escaping from the horrors of war, are being relieved in the same way as the Christian refugees. A race that can do that in the moment of its own agony gives a very handsome guarantee of nobility of character. I wish distinctly to say that I am not appealing to His Majesty's Government in this matter as a matter of race or of religion. It is not only the Armenians who have suffered in this way ; not only the Armenians that will need such help as the Government can give them. The Greeks to a large extent in many districts have suffered in much the same way. The Syrian Christians have been harassed in exactly the same manner. They have fled from the terror of the Turkish troops. The other day His Majesty's Consul at Tabriz telegraphed to this country that 25,000 Syrian refugees were close to his town, and that 10,000 more were expected immediately. Unless, he said, relief was received promptly large numbers of them must perish.

It is not only Christians. Apparently this process of exterminating all the progressive elements of the country—what is called Ottomanising the country—extends far beyond the range of the Christians. The Zionist Jews, for some reason, have been suspected of being an enlightening force, and they, too, have been in terror. My last news from over there was that the greatest religious teacher of our time, not Christian, not Jew, but a man who represents a kind of reformed Mahomedanism, or a wider religion embracing Mahomedanism and other religions, Abd-ul-Baha Abbas, a man that many of us had the honour of listening to in London a few years ago, an old man who has spent his life in doing good, has been violently taken from his home on Mount Carmel to Nazareth. What has happened to him is utterly unknown, but it is extremely likely that the worst has befallen him. This is a war against all the more intelligent reforming elements within

the Ottoman Empire. Not to prolong the account of these terrible events, I will ask the Noble Lord representing His Majesty's Government on this matter to tell us that everything that is in the power of the Government—the Army, the Fleet, the Consular service—will be used to help these two classes of people—those who are defending themselves for their lives within Turkish territory, and those who have sought refuge in Russia and elsewhere. I say again, we must not forget that we are in the presence of the greatest massacre probably that the world has ever known. Therefore, it behoves us, I think, to make every sacrifice and put forward every effort to relieve, if possible, suffering, and to save some thousands from death that must still occur unless all our help is forthcoming.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (*indistinctly heard*) : I am going to make some demands on the Government, to all of which I am afraid they cannot accede. I am going to ask them for money. I am going to ask them for military and naval assistance, and I am going to ask them also for diplomatic assistance. I may say that I think, after the story of the Armenian massacres, so eloquently told by my hon. Friend who preceded me, everybody will agree that the large sum of money which the Government demands is necessary and well spent in this War. I will not go over the story told by my hon. Friend. No one could have told it better. One might add a tale or two, such as the ghastly episode of women, in their despair, throwing their children into the river, or into the wells by the road side to be devoured by beasts, to die of hunger, or to die of exposure. The story is so ghastly that really one staggers at it, and wonders that in this twentieth century possibilities of such cruelty still exist among any people or against any people. I am especially going to appeal to the Noble Lord for some of this money which we are about to vote, for such deeds of mercy and of assistance as were done by those magnificent French vessels which rescued so many of these poor people. But the main point on which I make this appeal is that the Noble Lord and the great Department which he represents should endeavour to bring this agony, if possible, to an end, and should, so far as possible, alleviate the sufferings.

I do not appeal to the Noble Lord to make any representation to the Turkish Government. We are at war with the Turkish Government, which seems to me one of the greatest vindications and justifications of this War, and I hope that the end of the War will, among other things, be the end of this ruthless tyranny. I do not think I could honestly ask the Noble Lord to make any appeal to Germany. There is one thing very German in this whole transaction. There is one great analogy between the Germans in Belgium and the Turks in Armenia, and that is the system and policy which underlie what might be regarded by superficial observers as mere sporadic or individual blood lust. As the Noble Lord knows far better than I do, for he has had access to documents that I have not seen, this movement was

simultaneous in fifty centres, and, therefore, evidently was obeying a central impetus, a central command from the heart of the Turkish Empire. I do not, as I say, ask the Noble Lord to make any representations to Germany. I do not suppose he can make any representation to a belligerent enemy during the War. As every man in this House knows, and every man in Germany knows, and, what is very important, every man in America knows, these massacres could not have taken place without the connivance, or the sanction, or, at least, the reticence of the German Government.

We know what the German Government thinks about this. Four months after these horrors began of wholesale slaughter in cold blood of thousands of men, the slow and more painful slaughter of thousands of women and girls and children, the Chancellor of the German Empire was able to announce in the German Parliament that Germany had brought about the regeneration of Turkey. Everybody knows that throughout all this district for at least a generation, or perhaps two generations, there was not a great centre of population, there was not one of the Armenian settlements which was not the subject of active, energetic, persistent propaganda by the German Consuls. Every one of these centres of slaughter was occupied by a German Consul, knowing the country, probably knowing the language, certainly knowing the Turkish authorities, certainly on good terms with them. If one of these Consuls had only lifted his finger he could have put an end to the slaughter. Nor do I ask the Noble Lord to make any appeal to German opinion. If I were freer in the somewhat necessary limits of this Debate, I could quote from the German Press what they have said about it. Perhaps the Noble Lord will allow me some indulgence in order to read just one extract from a writer in regard to whom, if ever there is a hideous atrocity, you can rely upon his pen not to excuse or extenuate it, but to glorify it, and the name of that gentleman is Reventlow. He wrote :—

"If the Court considers it necessary that Armenian insurrection can either go on or should be crushed so as to exclude all possibility of their repetition, then there is no murder and no atrocity, but simply measures of a justifiable and a necessary kind."

I was asked last night to define German militarism, and there is the definition in the devilish spirit of such a judgment and excuse for the cowardly massacre of 800,000 human beings, not all men, but thousands of women and children. There is another point in the speech of my hon. Friend to which I would like to refer. To tell the truth, I feel a sense of futility in discussing the question of the Armenians at all. Like most hon. Members, I have been here for thirty-five years, and certainly a quarter of a century, or about thirty years ago from the bench opposite I heard Lord Bryce describe as horrors worse than anything that had occurred up to that time the massacre of 300,000 by Abdul Hamid, and several tens of thousands by the Committee of Progress and Reform, but here you have the massacre of 800,000

more. The point I want to dwell upon for a moment is this : So much has been written about the Armenians that many people are disposed to think of them as a subject race, like the Kurds, that inhabit Asia Minor and other regions. Anybody who reads history knows that the Armenians are one of the most ancient and cultured, and one of the proudest in the history of civilisation and Christianity. In spite of all this massacre and persecution they have been the great rock of Christianity and the breakwater against the attacks of the Kurds. You have heard the story of these women who have been sold into the harems of the Turks. A couple of young girls were sold to a Turk for 3s. 6d., and some of them sold into prostitution. Who are these women ? There is not a man in this House, however high his position, who has in his family girls of greater culture, of greater sweetness, of nobler purity, or more civilised and cultured life than these women.

We have in this great struggle one mighty nation which stands in whole relief, and which by the character of its citizens and their intense spirit of humanity can deal with this question and save some of the living, and that country is the United States of America. I can encourage the Noble Lord to make representations to the Government of that great nation by the fact that these massacres elicited in America an outburst of horror and sympathy with the Armenians as great as was ever extended to any suffering or oppressed people in the history of the world. I have been in correspondence with some of the members of the American Committee that has been formed, and they say incidentally that in Switzerland—another neutral country—there is a strong feeling that the Noble Lord can appeal for sympathy and support in trying to bring these horrors to an end. I have met many distinguished and cultured gentlemen from Switzerland, and some of whom have actually gone to Armenia to establish industries and orphanages for the remnants of that race. We have had many thrilling and moving stories of these horrors and atrocities from those who have seen these massacres. Some of the information at our disposal in regard to these massacres in Armenia have come from German sisters. I can give the Noble Lord another ground for a strong appeal in this connection. We have tried to do something in Armenia.

Many good Englishmen, mainly connected with the Society of Friends, have conferred enormous benefits in times of crisis on the people of Armenia, but the nation that has done most for Armenia is America. Anybody who travels through the Near East, Egypt, and Armenia will know that the most beneficent agencies there are the American missions. They mainly, indeed I think entirely, belong to members of Protestant communions, entirely unsectarian in spirit. I am not going to quarrel with the religious belief of any man who devotes himself to the service of suffering. Therefore, to me it makes exactly the same appeal as if it were a mission of the Roman Catholic

Church. I think they had at least fifty places of instruction in knowledge, in Christianity, and in moral conduct among these Armenian people, and they produced marvellous results. I hope I am not wearying the House if I just read one little extract. I may say that I take this from a penny pamphlet entitled "Armenian Atrocities : the Murder of a Nation." I think every Member of the House has got a copy. I implore them to read this book, and to spread this book, because it is one of the most thrilling and most eloquent appeals that has ever been written. I want, for the purpose of strengthening the hands of the Noble Lord, in making this appeal to America to bring into juxtaposition, so far as official rules permit, the work of the American mission, and the work of the Turkish ruler by one little example. I am quoting from the president of an American college in Armenia, and this president, speaking about the massacres, gives a list of the students and of the professors of this college. The Noble Lord has the pamphlet before him, and it is on page 100. Will the House listen to this :—

"Constituency : Approximately two-thirds of the girl pupils, and six-sevenths of the boys have been taken away to death, exile, or Moslem homes. Professors : Four gone, three left, as fellows."

I want just to say a word about one or two of these professors. Professor B., who served the college thirty-three years, studied at Ann Arbor, which I may inform the House is one of the greatest educational institutes of the United States. He was a professor of mathematics. I find that another professor studied at Princeton, another university of the United States. Another professor studied at Edinburgh. He was a professor of mental and moral science. He was tortured. He had three finger-nails pulled out by the roots, and he was killed in one of the massacres. I take the case of Professor G. He served the college about fifteen years. He studied at Cornell and Yale, two great educational institutes of the United States, and he was professor of biology. The professors of this college, of which the president was a citizen of the United States, received their learning in the great universities of the world, and especially in the universities of the United States, and they were massacred, tortured, or persecuted. Now you have the picture in juxtaposition : the noble work of the American mission and the hideous and diabolical work of the Turkish ruler. In my opinion there is no Power to-day which can exercise so powerful an influence on the future of this ghastly and terrible question than the Government of the United States. I am not sure whether the Foreign Office of this country can, in accordance with the rules of diplomacy, make a direct representation to the President of the Government of the United States, but I do know that the Noble Lord and we here to-night can confidently appeal for sympathy and support to the generous and humane people of the United States in bringing relief to this poor and oppressed people.

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord Robert Cecil) : The House has listened with wrapt attention to two speeches of a very high order in describing the terrible events which have recently taken place in Armenia, and, speaking from this bench, there really is very little indeed for me to add to what my hon. Friends, one on each side of the House, have already said. The story is a terrible one. The House will recollect that before this War broke out, in February of last year, the Powers had induced the Turks to accept a measure of reform which might, I think, have produced some real amelioration and some real security for these unhappy people. I will not go into the details of it, but there were to be two Inspectors-General, who were to have certain powers, which I think would have been of value ; but the moment War broke out, and even before Turkey had joined our enemy, she abandoned all pretence of accepting this reform, and as soon as she thought, or, rather, as soon as the Committee of Union and Progress thought—it is unfair to say Turkey—it could safely be done, they initiated the terrible scheme of which we see the results at the present day. I think it may be said, without the least fear of exaggeration, that no more horrible crime has been committed in the history of the world. My hon. Friend behind me recited some of the incidents. I am not going to harrow the feelings of the House —there is really no object in doing so—by adding to the details of what has unfortunately occurred. It is enough to say that no element of horror, outrage, torture, or slaughter was absent from this crime. It was not only the slaughter and destruction of this people, but it was the slaughter of them under the cruellest possible circumstances to be imagined.

There is as far as I know only one mitigation of the horror, and it is that this was in no sense a religious movement. It was not out of any fanatical outburst of Moslem feeling. It was nothing of the kind. We had every reason to believe—and I do believe—that pious Moslems in all parts of the world view with as great reprobation as even we do the horrors which have taken place in Armenia. It had nothing to do with any religious persecution or religious hatred. Feeling against Christianity did not enter into it at all. But that very circumstance, which from one point of view is something we may congratulate ourselves upon, is, in another point of view, an aggravation of what has occurred. This is a premeditative crime determined on long ago. It is part of the deliberate policy of those who Lord Bryce so rightly called “a gang of murderous ruffians that rule Constantinople at the present time.” One of them has undoubtedly, on more than one occasion—I was told only this minute—boasted to a mutual friend in Constantinople that he and his friends in six months have done more than Abdul Hamid did in thirty years. It was a long-considered, deliberate policy to destroy and wipe out of existence the Armenians in Turkey. It was systematically carried out. It was ordered from above, and when, as happened on one or two occasions, the local

governors were anxious to spare some of the children, or mitigate in some degree the horrors of the operation, they were sternly ordered to go on with the work, and I believe in one or, perhaps, two cases they were removed from their offices for not carrying it out with sufficient vigour.

There is one other circumstance I am bound to remind the House of. Not only was this premeditated. There was no provocation whatever. It has been suggested by that apologist for all that is wicked—Count Reventlow—that this was merely a rough suppression of insurrection and riot. There is no truth whatever in it. There was no insurrection, no riot ; nothing of the kind. It has been suggested in America that agents of this country intrigued with Armenians to stir them up to rebellion against their lawful Sovereign, and that this country is responsible for the horrors that resulted. I am quite sure the House will believe me when I assure it that no kind of truth exists for any such allegation. There have been no intrigues by this country with the Armenians to stir them up to rebellion. There have been no attempts to raise them against their masters, though the House will easily see that if any such attempt had occurred it would be far from an excuse for or even palliation of the crimes committed. But even this miserably poor excuse is absolutely without foundation. The crime was a deliberate one, not to punish insurrection but to destroy the Armenian race. That was the sole object, the sole reason for it. Mr. Deputy-Speaker was good enough to point out that though this discussion of the terrible crimes that have been committed was in order, yet it was necessary to deal with the practical proposal that was to be made in order to mitigate or save the remnants of the Armenian people. My hon. Friends made one or two proposals. My hon. Friend (Mr. A. Williams) suggested that we might instruct the Fleet, if they saw any opportunity, to save any outlying bands of fugitives. I do not know that the British sailor would need any instruction of that kind.

Mr. A. WILLIAMS : Let them look for opportunities.

Lord ROBERT CECIL : I am quite certain, if they see an opportunity, they will be only too ready to take it. It was very rightly said that the French Fleet had had an opportunity, and had saved some 4,000 Armenians. I am quite sure, if any such opportunity falls in the way of a British commander, he will be only too glad and too ready to imitate his French colleagues. The hon. Gentleman also asked me to say, on behalf of the Government, that we would use every resource of the Army and Navy and the Consular services to assist and save the Armenians. I am sure my hon. Friend will not misunderstand me if I do not give a pledge of that kind quite in those terms. After all, the greatest possible protection for the Armenians is our victory in this War. To that all our main efforts must be bent. Our Army and our Navy, and all our resources must be devoted to destroying the

enemy, wherever we can find him, until he accepts terms of peace which will be acceptable to the Allies. But it being well understood that we must have that object before our eyes first of all, I am quite sure if any opportunity should occur to assist the Armenians by the efforts of our Consuls or of our forces in any way practicable, I am certain the Government would feel that that is a very noble use to which the resources of this country could be put.

There is one thing I will tell the House—it is a small matter—what we have already done. It bears on one suggestion. It is that we had telegraphed to the Commander of our forces (General Nixon) in Mesopotamia, and asked him to communicate with the Arab tribes and induce them, as far as possible, to assist these unhappy fugitives wherever they can. That has already been done, and I hope it may have some result. My hon. Friend (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) made another suggestion, and that was that we should make representations to neutral Governments, and he particularly mentioned the Governments of the United States and the Swiss Republic.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR : I made an omission that I should like to repair, and that is that you should back up some representations which I made to the Pope, who has already intervened in the matter.

Lord ROBERT CECIL : I am glad of that interruption. It enables me to say—indeed, I should have said it in any case—that humanity is grateful to His Holiness the Pope for the steps he has already taken to try and secure the safety of the Armenians. He made the strongest possible representations, as my hon. Friend knows, and if they are without result it is because it is difficult to get blood out of a stone. But as to the suggestion that he should make representations to the Governments of the United States and of the Swiss Republic, I need not say that if either of those Governments should think it right to make representations to Germany no one would be more rejoiced at or would welcome more heartily any steps of that kind than would the Government of this country. After all, it is not for us to dictate or even to suggest to the Governments of independent neutral countries what their duty is in such a case as this. It is for each Government to settle exactly what it ought to do with reference to foreign Governments, except so far as representations may be made on behalf of the subject of any other Government. Although I am quite ready to join with my hon. Friend in expressing the aspiration that these Governments may see their way to do something, if anything can be done, for the Armenians, I do not think it would be right that this Government should go further than that.

My hon. Friend said and said truly that it was not for us to make any representations to the Germans. It would be quite useless, and we certainly should not do so. But after all, they and they only are the people who can stop these massacres and can save the Armenians

if they choose. I read in that very interesting and able pamphlet a statement that no sufficient proof of direct complicity can be brought against German officials, but indirectly the complicity of Germany is proved beyond doubt. Not only are they defended by Count Reventlow, but as I read in one of the German papers, beyond a communication from a German living in Switzerland, with that exception no protest of any sort or kind has appeared in any German paper. Not only so, it may sound a hard thing but it is true that the creed of German militarism leads logically to crimes of this description. Do not let us forget for a moment what a horrible thing, although it may be stated quite attractively, in reality German militarism is. It means that anything which is thought to be in the interests of the State is justified. The State is put in the place which is occupied in other nations by religion and morality. Once you grant that, once you grant that the so-called bastard patriotism is an excuse for any crime, there is no limit to the degradation of a nation that adopts such a belief as that. We in this country, I hope, will never accept such a doctrine. We agree, at least I do with all my heart, with the words that Edith Cavell uttered just before her death:—

“Patriotism is not enough.”

It is a thing which only a great patriot dare say, and she was one. It was said by a great patriot, and it is a profound truth that patriotism is not enough, and it is because the Germans have not realised but have denied that truth that they are accomplices even in this crime, and unless they abandon their idolatry they will sink even lower than they have sunk at present.

Armenian Refugees' Relief Fund.

Among the *Current Notes* will be found our latest telegrams from Tiflis and Etchmiadzin, sent by one who was closely connected with us until recently, and whose information can be relied on as from an eye-witness, with special facilities for inquiry from the highest sources. From these telegrams it will be seen that the condition of the refugees in Transcaucasia is as bad as can be imagined. It is not to be wondered that the sudden influx of so large a population should strain all the resources of the country, and more especially bring in its train epidemics which are decimating these wretched people. All necessaries, to say nothing of doctors, nurses, and hospital equipment, have to be transported from a distance, and it is only a sufficiency of funds that can palliate to a certain measure the needs of this cruel situation. Money, then, is of the utmost importance just now, and it is for money we ask. We have this month the gratification of knowing that the remittances of our Association now exceed £10,000, and we do not despair of yet adding considerably more to this amount.

The following is our statement of account for the past month :—

Receipts :—

	£ s. d.
Messrs. Appear & Co., Calcutta (3rd donation) ..	500 0 0
Mrs. Diana A. Appear, Yokohama ..	52 1 8
Dr. M. D. Dinjian ..	10 10 0
Charles Serkis Bey ..	10 0 0
Dr. M. W. Manuk (2nd donation) ..	5 5 0
Mr. D. H. Nevshahir ..	5 0 0
Mr. P. J. Peters, Bhelatand Colliery, India ..	0 13 4
Mr. G. A. Phillips, Sijua Colliery, India ..	0 13 4
Mr. G. Martinian ..	0 10 0
Mr. A. Madath, Budruchuck Colliery, India ..	0 6 8
Mr. M. G. Marcar, Mudidih Colliery, India ..	0 6 8
Mr. and Mrs. James Taranto ..	0 5 0
Collected by Mrs. Diana A. Appear, Yokohama ..	3 19 3
 Total received in November ..	 589 10 11
Amount previously received ..	9,666 10 2
 Grand total ..	 £10,256 1 1

Expenditure :—

	£ s. d.
Remitted to the Catholicos to October 31st ..	9,410 0 0
Remitted during November ..	600 0 0
Remitted direct for a special case ..	10 0 0
Balance in Bank ..	236 1 1
 Grand total ..	 £10,256 1 1

The sum actually remitted up to date to His Holiness the Catholicos thus amounts to £10,010. The details of the collection made in Yokohama by Mrs. Diana A. Appear are as follows

Miss Kimball (4th contribution) ..	20.00 Yen.
H. H. W. (per the <i>Far East</i>) ..	5.00 "
Miss M. A. Spencer ..	5.00 "
Anonymous ..	3.00 "
X. Y. Z. ..	5.00 "
 Total ..	 38.00 Yen = £3 19 3

The Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund.

Letters and telegrams which have reached us from Moscow, Tiflis, and Etchmiadzin confirm the terrible conditions prevailing among the refugees. A private letter from Tiflis, dated Nov. 3rd, says :—

The retreats from Van have had a terrible effect upon the population ; they are physically exhausted and mentally strained. They have lost almost everything and greatly feel their dependence on charity. Both the Russian authorities and all the Armenian societies are doing all that can possibly be done to relieve the suffering of the refugees, but unfortunately there is not means or accommodation to meet even immediate needs. All sorts of drugs and antiseptics are very badly wanted. Transport of such supplies on a large scale, and even by parcel post, seems to be out of the question. . . . We have to be satisfied with what can be got on the local market.

A later telegram from Etchmiadzin states : "Have visited refugee camps, hospitals and orphanages in this neighbourhood. Suffering is terrible owing to lack of food, clothing and accommodation."

We appeal in the name of charity to all our supporters to make the awful needs known as far as they can, in order that we may be able to send money in answer to these cries for help.

Mons. Khadisoff, Mayor of Tiflis, who is Delegate of the Caucasian Relief Committee of the All-Russian Cities Union, in writing to H.B.M.'s Consul-General in Moscow on Oct. 13th, to acknowledge money we sent, concludes : "I consider it my agreeable duty to express to you and the Committee my deep gratitude, and to add that I shall send you a detailed account of all the moneys expended for the needs of the Armenian refugees."

On Nov. 5th our Hon. Treasurer cabled £1,000 to H.B.M.'s Consul-General in Moscow, to be handed over to His Holiness the Catholicos for relief of refugees.

The following contributions have been received during the month : Miss M. J. Spencer, Basil Orpin, Esq. (per Mrs. M. Cole), Sheffield Corporation Tramways Committee, each £50 ; Col. James Cavendish, E. H. Edmondson, each £25 ; Miss A. L. Bolton, £15 ; Scottish Teachers' War Relief Fund, Broughton Higher Grade School, Edinburgh, £12 0s. 6d. ; Sir Edwin Pears, J. J. Briggs, each £10 10s. ; Admiral Lord Walter Kerr, G.C.B., J. A. Town, "C. J. W." Mrs. Tuckerman, Scottish Women's Protestant Union, each £10 ; Mrs. Farington, Miss L. M. Thornton, Dr. John Aitken, each £5 5s. ; Alex. McAndrew, Anon., H. I. Meigs, Miss L. Broadwood, Miss Alice Kemp, Josiah Beddow, Mrs. Zerbury, John S. Gibb, Miss Stirling, Miss Anne Escombe,

Rev. and Mrs. W. Popham Horsford, Dr. J. Bluett Duncan (per Women's Armenian Relief Fund), "Sympathy," Mrs. Farrow, Bishop Clayton, each £5; Miss Gregory, £4 4s.; Rev. C. T. Wood, Capt. and Hon. Mrs. Dalgety, Miss Dayman, E. E. Hayward and J. T. Hayward, each £4; Pulsometer Engineering Co., Reading (collection at Works), £4 8s. 3d.; Mrs. Sakalian (collected), £3 5s. 6d.; Rev. C. G. H. Baskcomb, B.D., E. Dowson, each £3 3s.; Miss C. M. Hudson, Miss E. Parker, Anonymous, Rev. and Mrs. Selmes, the Misses Durant, Miss Frances E. Graham, Miss W. A. Duncan, each £3; Miss Mackey, T. Ainsworth, Staff of Royal Association in aid of the Deaf and Dumb, Mrs. Dobbie, each £2 10s.; Miss Green, Mrs. Sandwith, Mrs. Hudson, Mrs. Mason, E. J. Brown, E. F. Bosanquet, Mrs. H. Maynard Carter, each £2 2s.; Miss G. Pearse, Lady Chalmers, Miss Evans, Miss D. M. Henty, Mrs. Scott Moore, Dr. Robert Stirling, Mrs. Pompfrey, Mrs. Selmes, Mrs. Morgan, Miss W. A. Duncan, Miss Stewart-Beattie, Mrs. M. B. Hughes, Miss M. Collas, Tabor Davies, each £2; and a number of smaller amounts.

The Fund totals £3,970.

Our grateful thanks are due to the following clergy and others, who have sent offertories and collections:—Queen's College Chapel, Cambridge, per Rev. C. T. Wood, £1 9s. 6d.; Rummage Sale, Westcote, Chipping Norton, per Rev. J. A. Thomas, £6 7s. 7d.; Collingbourne Ducis Church, per Rev. G. F. Tanner, £2 8s. 1d.; Gussage All Saints', Salisbury, per Rev. Arthur S. B. Freer; Fisherton Delamere Church, per Rev. Raymond O. Williams, £1 11s. 2d.; Guild of St. John, per Mrs. Southeby, £1 10s.; "From a Clergy Retreat," per E. Atkin, Esq.; £1 13s.; The Women's Hour, Baptist Church, Southfields, per Mrs. Paige, 5s.

We wish to express our hearty thanks to Mr. N. J. Tiratsoo for his great kindness in going to address a public meeting at Kineton, Warwick, on the evening of Nov. 3rd, on "Armenia, Past and Present." The chair was taken by the Hon. Mabel Verney. Our best thanks are due to the Rev. R. H. A. Morton, both for his speech and for so successfully organising the meeting. Good notices of it appeared in the local press, while the sum of £11 11s. 9d. resulted in collection and subscriptions for our fund.

We also tender sincerest thanks to Miss Hilda Powell for her great kindness in successfully arranging a sacred concert at Bures, Suffolk, on behalf of our Fund, as a result of which and of a collection Miss Powell has sent us £6 0s. 6d.

Our best thanks are due to Mr. P. Tonapetean for his generous gift of a number of copies of his interesting pamphlet, "The Meeting of the Kings," to be sold for the benefit of the Red Cross Fund.

A bale of delightful children's garments has arrived from Mrs. Diana A. Apcar, Yokohama, for refugees in the Caucasus. We only regret they cannot be forwarded at once. Our thanks are due to

Miss Douglas, of Budleigh Salterton, who has most kindly sent a quantity of garments collected there, also to Miss J. Wenham, Miss A. Leakey, Mrs. H. Perks, Miss Pink, Mrs. Livesey, Mrs. S. Tucker, "A Friend," Miss Maw, and others for parcels of warm clothing.

It is hoped soon to send some things out for the 4,049 Armenian refugees at Port Said, who need warm clothing.

We trust all our kind friends will go on working for us, as we want to send as large a consignment of garments as possible to the Caucasus directly there is means of sending.

For many months past daily intercessions on behalf of Armenia and the relief work there have been offered in at least two English churches. We have recently heard that like prayers and intercessions are being offered in churches and private houses in various parts of the country. If knowledge of this spontaneous effort of the sister Church can be conveyed to the sufferers possibly it may bring a ray of comfort in their distress.

Donations to the Fund will be thankfully received by the Hon. Secretary, Miss E. J. Robinson, at 35a, Elsham Road, Kensington, London, W., to whom all communications regarding the Fund should be addressed.

EMILY J. ROBINSON.

A Red Cross Flag that Saved Four Thousand.

This is a graphic narrative of the doings and the rescue of the four thousand Armenian souls, about which we have had but meagre accounts so far. It is from the pen of Dikran Andreasian, the pastor of the Armenian Protestant Church of Zeitoun, himself one of the 4,000 who were taken off by the French cruisers.

The narrative has been translated into English by the Rev. Stephen Trowbridge, Secretary of the American Red Cross at Cairo, who sends it to us for publication, and we gladly give it space.—
EDITOR, *Ararat*.

From the day that Turkey entered the war there had been much anxiety among the people of Zeitoun as to whether the Turks would treat the Armenians of those mountain districts with some new form of cruelty and oppression. Zeitoun is—we must now say *was*—a city of seven thousand inhabitants, entirely Armenian, and surrounded by many villages also Christian, in the heart of the Taurus Mountains.

I have been serving for one year as the pastor of the Armenian Protestant Church in Zeitoun, and the narrative which follows is one of personal experience.

Early in the spring of this year the Government began to assume a threatening attitude towards Zeitoun, summoning the elders and notables of the city and commencing an inquisition with the punishment of the bastinado. Absurd and impossible charges were made against the Armenians for the purpose of extorting money. Meanwhile some 6,000 regular troops were quartered in the barracks above the city. An attempt to take the Armenian monastery by storm cost the Turks some casualties and failed of its object. The young men who were within stoutly defended themselves, and not until attacked by field artillery was the monastery taken.

Fifty of the leading men in Zeitoun were therefore summoned to the barracks "for a conference with the commander." They were at once imprisoned and their families were sent for. Everyone waited anxiously for these people to return, but after a while it was learned that they had been sent away to an unknown destination. A few days later another and larger group of families were ordered to the barracks, and were forthwith driven off with threats and curses to a distant banishment. In this way three or four hundred families at a time were sent off on foot, with no proper supply of food, by devious routes through the mountains, some north-west towards Konia, some south-east toward the hot and unhealthy plains of Mesopotamia.

Day by day we saw the various quarters of the city stripped of the inhabitants, until at last a single neighbourhood remained. In addition to my duties as pastor I happened to be in charge of the Mission orphanage. The Commanding Officer sent for me one morning and told me to make ready at once for departure. "Your wife is also to go," he said, "and the children in the orphanage." We made our preparations hurriedly, for we were allowed to take but little with us. As we were leaving I looked back with an aching heart and saw our beloved church empty and lonely. The last company of our seven thousand people was streaming down the valley into banishment! We had seen massacres, but we had never seen this before! A massacre at least ends quickly, but this prolonged anguish of soul is almost beyond endurance.

The first day's march exhausted all of us. In the dark, as we lay down upon the open ground, Turkish muleteers came and robbed us of the few donkeys and mules that we had. Next day in forlorn condition, the children with swollen and blistered feet, we reached Marash. Through the earnest request of the American missionaries, an order was secured from the governor for my wife and myself to return to my home town Yoghonolook, near the sea, twelve miles west of Antioch. The governor granted this permit on the ground that my wife and I were not natives of Zeitoun. My heart was torn between the desire to share banishment with some fragment of my congregation and the desire to take my wife to a place of comparative safety in my father's home. But the order having once been issued, I had no alternative but to obey.

At Aintab we found the large Armenian community in the utmost anxiety, but at that time the order to leave had not arrived. Rumours reached us that the villages by the sea were being threatened, but we thought best to continue southward, difficult though the journey was at such a time.

The last part of our way lay through a historic valley, the fertile plain of Antioch. It was here that Chrysostom preached in the fervour of his early ministry before he was called to Byzantium. And it was to a secluded chapel on our own mountain side that he used to withdraw for prayer and communion with God. As a boy I had often looked with wonder and reverence at the massive stones of the ruins of St. Chrysostom's Chapel. It was in this very Antioch that Barnabas and Paul laboured with such spiritual energy. And here they set forth upon their momentous task of spreading the Christian faith. The Roman road by which they walked from Antioch to Seleucia can still be traced in the valley below my native town, and the stone piers from which Roman ships set sail at Seleucia are not entirely demolished by the storms and earthquakes of the centuries.

The city of Antioch, once so gallantly defended by the Crusaders, has long been under the rule of the Turks, and the minarets of Islam are ten times more numerous than the church belfries. In April, 1909, the Protestant and Gregorian congregations suffered one of the most cruel persecutions in history.

The people of my own home town, Yoghonolook, are simple, industrious folk. For years past their chief occupation has been the sawing and polishing by hand of combs from hard wood and bone. Many of our men are also expert wood carvers. In the neighbouring villages the chief occupations are the culture of silk worms for producing raw silk, and the weaving of silk by hand looms into handkerchiefs and scarfs. Our people are very fond of their churches, and since the opening of schools by the American missionaries most of our children have learned to read. Every home is surrounded by mulberry trees, and many beautiful orchards cover the terraced slopes towards the south and west. Travellers who have been to Southern Italy tell us that the villages near Naples very much resemble ours. The broad, rough back of Mousa Dagh (*i.e.*, Mount Moses), known in Arabic as Jebel-el-Ahmar, rises up eastward back of us. Every gorge and crag of our beloved mountain is known to our boys and men.

I mention these facts about my village home so that you may feel something of the quiet happy life which was so rudely and so completely broken up by this last attempt of the Turks to exterminate our race.

Twelve days after I had reached home an official order from the Turkish Government at Antioch was served upon the six villages of Mousa Dagh to prepare for banishment within eight days. You can scarcely imagine the consternation and the indignation which this

order caused. We sat up all night debating what it would be best to do. To resist the forces of the Turkish Government seemed almost hopeless, and yet the scattering of families into a distant wilderness raided by fanatical and lawless Arab tribes, seemed such an appalling prospect that the inclination of both men and women was to refuse the summons and withstand the anger of the Government. All, however, were not of this mind. Rev. Haroutune Nokhoudian, the pastor of the Protestant Church in Beytias, for example, came to the conviction that it would be folly to resist, and that the severity of banishment might possibly be modified in some way. He was in favour of yielding. Sixty families from his own village and a considerable number from the next village agreeing with him, separated themselves from us and went down to Antioch under Turkish guards. They were shortly expelled in the direction of the lower Euphrates. (We have lost all track of them now and may never hear of them again.)

Our firm friends, the American missionaries, were cut off from us 120 miles to the north at Aintab. Communications with the outside world being practically severed, we were thrown upon our own resources, and we realised that our one hope was in the mercy of God. Fervently we prayed that He would strengthen us to do our duty.

Knowing that it would be impossible to defend our villages in the foothills, it was resolved to withdraw to the heights of Mousa Dagh, taking with us as large a supply of food and implements as it was possible to carry. All the flocks of sheep and goats were also driven up the mountain side, and every available weapon of defence was brought out and furbished up. We found that we had a hundred and twenty modern rifles and shot-guns, with perhaps three times that number of old flint-locks and horse-pistols. That still left more than half our men without weapons.

It was very hard to leave our homes. My mother wept as if her heart would break. But we had hopes that possibly while we were fighting off the Turks, the Dardanelles might be forced and deliverance come to the country.

By nightfall the first day we had reached the upper crags of the mountain. As we were preparing to camp and to cook the evening meal, a pouring rain set in and continued all night. For this we were ill prepared. There had not been time to make huts of branches, nor had we any tents or waterproof clothing. Men, women, and children, somewhat over five thousand in all, were soaked to the skin, and much of the bread we had brought with us was turned into a pulpy mass. We were especially solicitous to keep our powder and rifles dry. This the men managed to do very well.

At dawn next morning all hands went to work digging trenches at the most strategic points in the ascent of the mountain. Where there was no earth for trench-digging, rocks were rolled together,

making strong barricades behind which groups of our sharp-shooters were stationed. The sun came out gloriously, and we were hard at it all day strengthening our position against the attack which we knew was certain to come.

Toward evening we held a mass meeting for the election of a Committee of Defence which should have supreme authority for our six communities. Some favoured an election by show of hands, but others argued that as this was a matter of such vital importance the regular Congregational method of choice by secret ballot should be followed. And they offered to get together enough bits of paper to carry out the ballot! Our people have become very much attached to these democratic methods taught by the missionaries. Without much delay scraps of paper, more or less torn and wet, were gathered and the ballot was cast. A governing council thus being established, plans were at once made for defending each pass in the mountain and each approach to the camp. Scouts, messengers, and a central reserve group of sharp-shooters were chosen and were assigned their duties.

The summons from the government had been served July 13th. The eight days' grace had now almost elapsed, and we were aware that the Turks must have discovered our movements. The whole Antioch plain is peopled with Turks and Arabs, and there is always a strong military garrison in the Antioch barracks.

On July 21st the attack began. The advance guard was two hundred regulars, and their captain insolently boasted that he would clear the mountain in one day. But the Turks suffered several casualties and were driven back to the base. When they advanced for a more general attack, they dragged up a field gun which, after some experimentation, secured the range and wrought havoc in our camp. One of our sharp-shooters, a lion-hearted young fellow, crept down through the brushwood and among the rocks until he was in very close range of the field gun, which was mounted on a flat rock. Having made himself an ambush of branches, he watched for a good opportunity. He was so near that he could hear the Turks talking to one another as they loaded the gun. Then as one gunner stepped out into view, the young man picked him off with the first shot. With five bullets he killed four gunners! The captain thereupon threw up his hands in dismay, and not being able to discern our sharp-shooter, ordered the gun to be dragged to a place of shelter. Thus were we saved from a disastrous gun fire on that day and several days to come.

But the Turks were gathering forces for a massed attack. They had sent word through many Moslem villages calling the people to arms. Army rifles and plentiful ammunition were handed out from the Antioch arsenal, until the mob of four thousand Moslems thirsting for massacre became a formidable foe. But the chief strength of the Turks was in the three thousand regular troops accustomed to discipline and inured to hardship.

Suddenly one morning our scouts brought word to headquarters that the enemy was appearing at every pass in the mountain. Here and there the Turks had already gained the cliffs and shoulders of the crest. Our reserve body of defenders was—very unwisely, as we afterwards realised—sent in small groups to these various points. No sooner had our forces been thus divided than a massed attack in great force commenced through one ravine. All the other advances had been feints and were not followed up. By the time our men discovered the situation and rallied from distant points, the Turks had shot down our scouts and had poured through an important pass. To our dismay we saw them already in full occupation of high ground, threatening our camp. Reinforcements kept pushing up the mountain, and as the afternoon drew on we saw that we were completely outnumbered. We saw also that the range of the Turks' rifles was far superior to that of our old-fashioned firearms. By sundown the enemy had advanced three companies through the dense underbrush and forest to within four hundred yards of our huts. A deep damp ravine lay between, and the Turks decided to bivouac rather than to push on in the darkness.

Our leaders hurriedly took counsel together, whispering very quietly and not allowing any light in camp. Everyone knew that a crisis had been reached. Finally a venturesome plan was adopted : to creep around the Turkish positions in the dead of night and thus carry out an enveloping movement, closing in very suddenly with a fusillade and ending with a hand to hand encounter. If this plan should fail, we knew that everything was lost. Through the dark wet woods our men crept with extraordinary skill. It was here that our familiarity with those crags and thickets made it possible to do what invaders could not attempt. The circle was practically completed when, with a flash and a crash on all sides, our men delivered their attack, rushing forward with desperate courage.

In a very few moments it was evident that bewilderment and alarm had thrown the Turkish camp into the utmost confusion. Troops were rushing hither and thither in the black night, stumbling over rocks and logs, officers shouting contradictory commands and struggling vainly to rally their men. Evidently the impression was given of a very substantial Armenian attack, because in less than half an hour the Turkish colonel gave the order to retreat, and before dawn the woods were practically clear of the troops. More than two hundred Turks had been killed and some booty taken : seven Mauser rifles, 2,500 rounds of ammunition and one mule. There was no sign of any renewal of fighting. But we knew that our foes were not defeated : they were only driven off.

During the next few days they roused the whole Mohammedan population for many miles around—a horde of perhaps 15,000. With this larger number they were able to surround and lay siege to Mousa

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Note.—In the review of this pamphlet in the August number of "Ararat," it was stated that it was sold by Mr. P. Tonapetean at 53, Addison Gardens, W.

It is now also available at the office of the Armenian United Association of London, 44, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W. The owner is giving 35 per cent. of the sale proceeds to the Armenian Refugees' Relief Fund.

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Dagh on the landward side. Their plan was to starve us out. On the seaward side there was no harbour nor any communication with a seaport; the mountain sloped directly into the sea. We were fully occupied in the care of our wounded and the reparation of the damage done in camp. Special meetings were held to thank God for deliverance thus far, and to intercede with him for our families and little ones. Gregorians and Protestants were fused into one faith and fellowship by this baptism of suffering. It was at this time that my wife was confined and gave birth to her first child, a son. She suffered much in the flight down the seaward trail some days later, but I carried her and helped her as much as possible. Thank God, she is in good health now and so is our little son.

When we discovered that our mountain was in a state of siege, we began to estimate our food resources. During the first week on the heights we had exhausted the bread, olives and cheese that we had brought from home. Very few had been able to bring flour or other cereals, so for a month past we had been living on our flocks, using the goats' milk for the little children and the sick, and slaughtering a number of sheep and goats every day. This constant meat diet was not good for us, but on the other hand we were profoundly thankful that we were spared the suffering of starvation. We made a careful count of the flocks and found that even with a reduced ration of meat our supply would last not more than two weeks longer. Under the pressure of this anxiety we began to think of plans for escape by sea.

Before the siege had entirely closed in, we had sent a runner to make the dangerous trip eighty-five miles through Turkish villages to Aleppo, the capital of the province, with an appeal to the American Consul, Mr. Jackson, to send us help by sea if possible. But it is not at all likely that our runner ever reached Aleppo. It occurred to us that possibly a battleship of the Allies might be in Alexandretta harbour, thirty-five miles to the north. So one of our young men who was a strong swimmer volunteered to creep through the Turkish lines and take a message in English strapped inside his belt. He succeeded in reaching the hills overlooking the harbour, but saw that there was no battleship and returned. His plan had been to swim out to sea, circling around to reach the battleship, thus avoiding the Turkish sentries on the roads leading in to Alexandretta.

We then prepared triplicate copies of the following appeal and appointed three swimmers to be constantly on the watch for any passing ship, to strike through the surf and swim out at an angle so as to meet the vessel :—

" To any English, American, French, Italian or Russian admiral, captain or authority whom this petition may find; we appeal in the name of God and human brotherhood.

We, the people of six Armenian villages, about 5,000 souls in all, have withdrawn to that part of Mousa Dagh called Damlajik, which is three hours journey north-west from Suediye along the seacoast.

We have taken refuge here from Turkish barbarism and torture, and most of all from the outraging of the honour of our women.

Sir, you must have heard about the policy of annihilation which the Turks are applying to our nation. Under cover of dispersing the Armenians as if to avoid rebellion, our people are expelled from their houses, deprived of their gardens, their vineyards, and all their possessions.

This brutal programme has already been applied to the city of Zeitoun and its thirty-two villages, to Albustan, Geoksun, Yarpouz, Gurin, Diarbekir, Adana, Tarsus, Mersin, Deort Yol, Hadjin, etc. And the same policy is being extended to all the one and a half million Armenians in different parts of Turkey.

The present writer was the Protestant pastor in Zeitoun a few months ago and was an eye-witness of many unspeakable cruelties. I saw families of eight or ten members driven along the highway, barefooted children six and seven years old by the side of aged grandparents, hungry and thirsty, their feet swollen from the toilsome journey. Along the road one heard sobs and curses and prayers. Under the pressure of great fear, some mothers gave birth to children in the bushes by the side of the road. Immediately afterward they were compelled by the Turkish guards to continue their journey till kind death arrived to give an end to their torture.

The remainder of the people who were strong enough to bear the hardships of the march were driven on under the whips of gendarmes to the plains of the south. Some died of hunger. Others were robbed along the way. Others were stricken by malaria and had to be left by the roadside. And as a last act of this dark and foul tragedy the Arabs and Turks massacred all the males and distributed the widows and girls among their tribes.

The Government some forty days ago informed us that our six villages must go into exile. Rather than submit to this we withdrew to this mountain. We have now little food left, and the troops are besieging us. We have had five fierce battles. God has given us the victory, but the next time we will have to withstand a much larger force.

Sir, we appeal to you in the name of Christ !

Transport us, we pray you, to Cyprus or any other free land. Our people are not indolent ; we will earn our own bread if we are employed.

If this is too much to grant, transport at least our women, old people and children, equip us with sufficient arms, ammunition and food, and we will work with you with all our might against the Turkish forces. Please, Sir, do not wait until it is too late !

Respectfully your servant, for all the Christians here,

September 2.

Dikran Andreasian."

But days passed and not even a sail was seen. The war had reduced the coastwise shipping to a minimum. Meanwhile at my suggestion our women had been making two immense flags, on one of which I printed in large, clear English, "CHRISTIANS IN DISTRESS : RESCUE." This was a white flag with black lettering. The other was also white with a large red cross at the centre. We fastened these flags to tall saplings and set a watch at the foot to scan the horizon from dawn to dark. Some days we had rain and on others heavy mists and fogs, which are rather prevalent along our bit of coast.

The Turks again attacked us by several approaches, and we had some severe fighting, but never at such close quarters as during the first general engagement. From one point of vantage we were able to roll boulders down the precipitous mountain side with disastrous effects to the enemy. Our powder and cartridges were running low, and the Turks evidently had some idea of the straits we were in, for they began shouting insolent summons to surrender. Those were anxious days and long nights !

One Sunday morning, the fifty-third day of our defence, while I was occupied in preparing a brief sermon to encourage and strengthen our people, I was startled by hearing a man shouting at the top of his voice. He came racing through our encampment straight for my hut. "Pastor, pastor," he exclaimed, "a battleship is coming and has answered our waving !—Thank God !—Our prayers are heard. When we wave the Red Cross flag the battleship answers by waving signal flags. They see us and are coming in nearer shore !"

This proved to be the French "Guichen," a four-funnel ship. While one of its boats was being lowered, some of our young men raced down to the shore and were soon swimming out to the stately vessel which seemed to have been sent to us from God ! With beating hearts we hurried down to the beach and soon an invitation came from the Captain for a delegation to come on board and narrate the situation. He sent a wireless to the Admiral of the fleet and before a great while the flag-ship "Ste. Jeanne d'Arc" appeared on the horizon followed by other French battleships. The Admiral spoke words of comfort and cheer to us, and gave an order that every soul of our community should be taken on board the ships. The embarkation took some time, of course, and an English cruiser was invited to take part in the transportation to Port Said, Egypt. We were taken on

board four French cruisers and one English, and were very kindly cared for. In two days we arrived at Port Said, and are now settled in a permanent camp which has been provided for us by the British authorities.

We are especially grateful to Mr. William C. Hornblower for the excellent organisation of this camp, and to Col. and Mrs. P. G. Elgood and Miss Russell for their untiring efforts on our behalf.

The Armenian Red Cross Society of Cairo, recently organised, of which the Gregorian Bishop is Honorary Chairman, Mr. Fermanian of the Kodak Company, Director, and Prof. Kayayan, Secretary, has sent us a staff of three doctors and three nurses.

An accurate census has been taken which shows that the survivors number :—

427	babies and children under four years of age,
508	girls from 4 to 14,
628	boys from 4 to 14,
1,441	women above 14 years of age,
1,054	men above 14.
<hr/>	
4,058	total number of souls rescued.

After the Turks' first challenge, July 13th, we had eight days' parley and preparation. For fifty-three days we defended ourselves on Mousa Dagh ; and a two days' voyage brought us to Port Said on September 14th.

We do not forget that our Saviour was brought in His infancy to Egypt for safety and shelter. And the brethren of Joseph could not have been more grateful than we are for the corn and wheat provided.

With greetings to American, British, French and Armenian friends, in the name of Christ under the shadow of Whose Red Cross we are indeed one people.

Respectfully yours,

DIKRAM ANDREASIAN.

Announcements.

THE ARMENIAN UNITED ASSOCIATION OF LONDON.

NOTICE.

In accordance with Rule 22 of the Rules of the Association, the Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday, January 29th, 1916, at the office of the Association, 47A, Redcliffe Square, S.W., at 3 p.m.

The ordinary business before the Meeting will be :—

- (i) to receive the report of the President for the year 1915, together with a statement of accounts;
- (ii) to elect three members to serve on the General Council in place of three of the oldest members, who will retire in accordance with the Association's Rule 17. The retiring members will be eligible for re-election.

Of the three retiring members, two go in rotation as being the oldest on the General Council, viz., Lieut.-Colonel G. M. Gregory, *President*, and Dr. J. A. Calantar, *Hon. Asst. Treasurer*. At a meeting of the Council held on November 22nd, lots were drawn for one member to retire from among the four who were elected in January, 1914, and they fell on Mr. H. N. Mosditchian.

Any special questions or proposals to be brought before this Meeting by the General Council, or by any members, must be in conformity with Rules 23 or 24 of the Rules of the Association.

By order of the General Council,
M. K. GUDENIAN,
Hon. Secretary.

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We are pleased to announce the opening of the Session 1915-1916. The inaugural Meeting was held on Sunday, Nov. 7th, when His Grace Archbishop Utudjian gave an address, which was followed by addresses from Miss Nellie A. Cole and the Rev. Harold Cooper. There was a Members' Meeting on Nov. 14th and a debate on Nov. 21st.

The Meetings during December and January are thus shown in the Syllabus. They take place as usual at West Didsbury Public Hall :—

- DEC. 5.—Sunday, 3.30 p.m. Debate amongst all present, by giving their views *pro et contra*.
- DEC. 11.—Saturday, 3.30 p.m. Address by Lieut.-Col. G. M. Gregory, V.D., of London.
- DEC. 19.—Sunday, 3.0 p.m. Members' Meeting.

1916.

- JAN. 2.—Sunday, 3.30 p.m. Debate,
S. Damadian, Esq., *Vs.*
Rev. K. H. Zorian.
- JAN. 9.—Sunday, 3.0 p.m. Members' Meeting.
- JAN. 15.—Saturday, 3 to 8 p.m. Social Gathering, for Members only. (Refreshments.)
- JAN. 30.—Sunday, 3.30 p.m. Debate.
M. A. Arabian, Esq., *Vs.*
H. Kamberian, Esq.

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The Armenian Church, by ARCHDEACON DOWLING, with an introduction by the late BISHOP OF SALISBURY. Published by the S.P.C.K., Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C. (Illustrated), Price 3/6.

The Church of Armenia—Her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature, and Existing Condition, by Mgr. Malachia Ormanian, translated by G. Marcar Gregory. V.D., 5s. net (postage 4d.). Apply to the translator, 36, Gunterstone Road, West Kensington, London, W.

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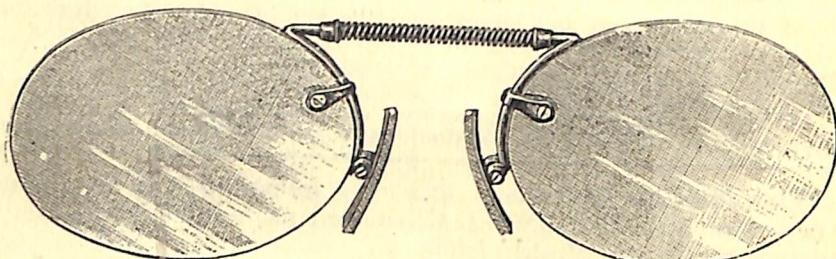
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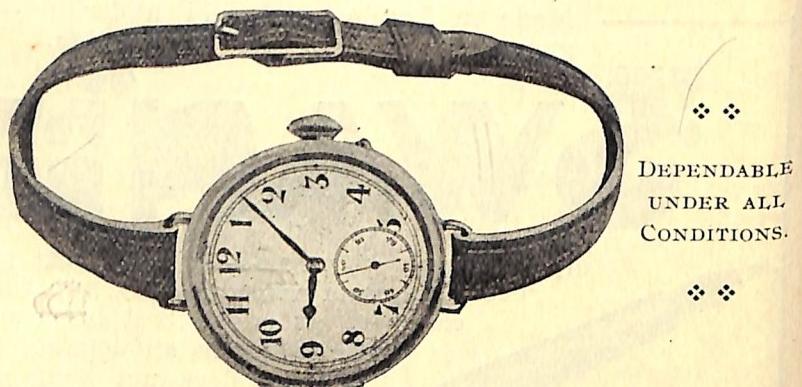
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This Association has been founded with the double object of (1) drawing together all Armenians in the British capital, bringing them into touch with the British public, and thus establishing a closer sympathy between the two nations ; and (2) focussing in the centre of the civilised world the many questions, both social and national, which affect Armenia and the Armenians.

With the above objects in view, the Association is directing its energies to—

- (1) The establishment of a permanent habitation in London, which will embrace a hall for meetings, a reading-room and a library.
- (2) The organisation of social and literary gatherings.
- (3) The relief and education of Armenian orphans rendered destitute through chronic misrule in Armenia.
- (4) Watching the trend of political affairs affecting Armenia, and doing the utmost by pacific means towards the amelioration of the country and the people through (a) a Standing Committee, and by (b) the publication of literature.
- (5) The gradual raising of a fund for the establishment of an Armenian Church in London.

Membership is open to Armenians of both sexes.

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It will be evident that the above nominal subscription is just sufficient for the bare social functions of the Association. The more important functions are dependent for their success on the liberality of sympathisers, and donations are earnestly requested for the above national objects from those who are in a position to contribute. The response since the reorganisation of the Association has been very encouraging, but much more is needed to place the Association on a secure basis for prosecuting the work outlined above.

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